

GLOBAL CORRUPTION BAROMETER 2010

VIETNAM COUNTRY ANALYSIS OF THE VIEWS
AND EXPERIENCES OF URBAN CITIZENS



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FOREWORD

Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer (the Barometer) is the largest cross-country survey to collect the general public's views on and experiences of corruption. In 2010, the Barometer interviewed more than 91,500 people in 86 countries, to provide comparisons on how ordinary citizens are affected by corruption from one country to another.

Whilst the data from the Barometer surveys have generally been used to provide international comparisons and analysis, it has been felt that such data could be more fully exploited. The Vietnam Corruption Barometer 2010, the first country analysis of its kind, demonstrates how the Barometer data can be used further to provide in-depth analysis at the national level.

With this report, the Barometer comprehensively captures the corruption situation in urban Vietnam. The report not only compares how perceptions and experiences vary between Vietnam and its regional neighbours, but further analyses how these differ between different categories within the Vietnamese population, such as gender, age, education levels, and regional distribution, providing a better understanding of where the main problems and challenges lie in Vietnam.

The findings indicate that anti-corruption in urban Vietnam has reached a cross-roads. Whilst perceptions of anti-corruption efforts and individual institutions are relatively positive, experiences with and perceptions of corruption are deteriorating. The findings call for urgent attention. Whilst corruption has been recognised as a key challenge by the Vietnamese Government and despite strong trust in the Government's anti-corruption efforts, deteriorating perceptions of and experiences with corruption indicate that more needs to be done.

It is our hope that the findings of this report will significantly contribute to the existing knowledge gap on the corruption situation in Vietnam and to the implementation of the Government circular on evaluating corruption and anti-corruption efforts.

Nguyen Thi Kieu Vien
Executive Director
Towards Transparency

CORRUPTION AND ANTI-CORRUPTION IN VIETNAM

The word corruption (*tham nhung*) was recognised in the official document of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party at the time *Doi Moi* (the economic renovation policy) was adopted in 1986. Since then, corruption has continued to be recognised as a serious issue of concern by the Vietnamese leadership. In the official report of the 7th Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1991, for example, corruption was mentioned as a "national threat". Since then, Vietnam's anti-corruption institutions and legal framework have been significantly strengthened. After the first Ordinance on Anti-Corruption in 1998, the Law on Anti-Corruption was adopted in 2005 (revised in 2007). It provides a legal landmark in the Government of Vietnam's efforts to curb corruption, along with the Communist Party Resolution 04, which was issued in 2006 by the 3rd Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party (session X). An impressive number of sub-legislation has also been issued. Finally, the "National Anti-Corruption Strategy towards 2020" was adopted in May 2009 and action plans at ministerial levels have been developed. On the international level, Vietnam ratified the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) in June 2009 (following signature in 2003).

Ongoing efforts continue to take place to better coordinate the work and improve the capacity of anti-corruption agencies. Existing agencies overseeing Vietnam's anti-corruption efforts include the newly created Central Steering Committee against Corruption and its office (created by

the 2005-2007 Law on Anti-Corruption), and the new specialised anti-corruption units created within the Government Inspectorate, the Ministry of Public Security and the Supreme People's Procuracy. Nonetheless concrete achievements in anti-corruption efforts, according to the Vietnamese leadership, remain limited. At the 11th Congress of the Communist Party in January 2011 corruption was still officially recognised as being rampant.

From a research perspective, the strong commitment and endorsement of anti-corruption by Vietnamese leaders has enabled corruption to be better understood and documented. In 2005, the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party conducted the first official public survey on the status of corruption in Vietnam.¹ In 2006, TI published its first "National Integrity System" report on Vietnam,² and 5 years later TI and TT, in partnership with CECODES, DIAL and Live&Learn, published the Youth Integrity Survey³ which interviewed 1,500 citizens nationwide on their perceptions and experiences of corruption. Over the past five years, different research has been initiated by donors from Denmark, Sweden, UNDP, and the World Bank, and also by Vietnamese Ministries, research centres and NGOs.⁴

The multiplication of survey initiatives demonstrates that corruption is increasingly being placed at the forefront of Vietnam's policy agenda.

THE BAROMETER IN VIETNAM: SCOPE AND LIMITS

In 2010, the Global Corruption Barometer survey was fully conducted in Vietnam for the first time.⁵ The field research was carried out between June and July 2010 by the consultancy firm Indochina Research, under the methodological supervision of Gallup International. Face to face interviews were carried out with a total of 1,000 citizens living in the five biggest Vietnamese cities: Ha Noi, Hai Phong, Da Nang, Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho (across the three main geographical domains: Northern, Central and Southern Vietnam), chosen randomly following the door-to-door procedure. Rural areas were excluded due to practical and budgetary reasons.



The Vietnam Corruption Barometer 2010 consequently represents the voices of around 17.5 million Vietnamese citizens (out of a total population of over 80 million) from urban areas aged between 18 and 64 years old. As in other countries, the questionnaire is short (5 subject specific questions, excluding the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents), but taking into account the multiple choice options, there is a total set of 37 individual questions (see Annex 1). Three main topics are addressed: perceptions of corruption, experience of corruption and support for anti-corruption policies.

From a methodological point of view, it should be noted that this sample is clearly robust enough for reliable overall findings on urban Vietnamese. When it comes to comparisons by socio-demographic categories, given that the sample sizes are smaller, the findings should be considered with caution: only larger differences are meaningful. The categories used to analyse the Vietnam 2010 Barometer are gender, age, education, work status, religion and geography (cities/regions).

This report aims first at improving knowledge on corruption and anti-corruption policies in Vietnam. In addition to comparing responses between population categories to better understand where the main problems and challenges lie, the report seeks to take advantage of the multi-country coverage of the Barometer by placing the specific situation in Vietnam in an international perspective. For this purpose, the results for Vietnam are compared with those obtained in a number of selected neighbouring countries within the Asia-Pacific region.

Part 1 analyses the perceptions of corruption, its evolution over time and by sectors. Part 2 focuses on the experience of corruption, while Part 3 is dedicated to assessing anti-corruption efforts by the Vietnamese government and to identify the potential constituents (champions) to support these policies.

FINDINGS

The Vietnam 2010 Barometer sends the following clear messages:

- A clear majority of urban citizens perceive corruption to have increased in Vietnam over the past 3 years
- Vietnamese citizens experience a high rate of corruption across a range of sectors, yet their general perception of corruption remains positive compared to their regional neighbours
- There is a very balanced assessment of the Government's anti-corruption efforts: as many people find these efforts effective as ineffective
- Trust in traditional political institutions to fight corruption

remains relatively strong, especially for the National Assembly, the Communist Party, and the Government which is the most trusted institution to lead the fight against corruption

- There is also strong trust in the media to contribute efficiently to anti-corruption efforts
- Vietnamese society and citizens are ready to become more involved and engaged in anti-corruption efforts
- Women and educated citizens are more critical than men about the overall situation on corruption, and seem to refuse corruption more
- Respondents from Hanoi experience significantly more corruption than those in others cities

1. PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION IN URBAN VIETNAM

1.1 EVOLUTION OF PERCEPTIONS

Vietnamese urban citizens perceive corruption to be increasing significantly (Figure 1). 36 per cent of respondents felt that corruption has increased a lot in Vietnam over the past three years and 26 per cent considered that it had increased a little. In total, 62 per cent of Vietnamese citizens interviewed perceived corruption to have increased, whilst only 18 per cent perceived that corruption had decreased (out of this only 3 per cent felt that corruption had decreased a lot).

This means that a heavily negative “balance of opinion”⁶ (the difference between the number of respondents who perceive corruption to have decreased and those who perceive it to have increased) of -44 per cent considered there to be “increased corruption” in Vietnam over the past three years (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 1
Evolution of the perceived level of corruption in urban Vietnam (2007-2010)

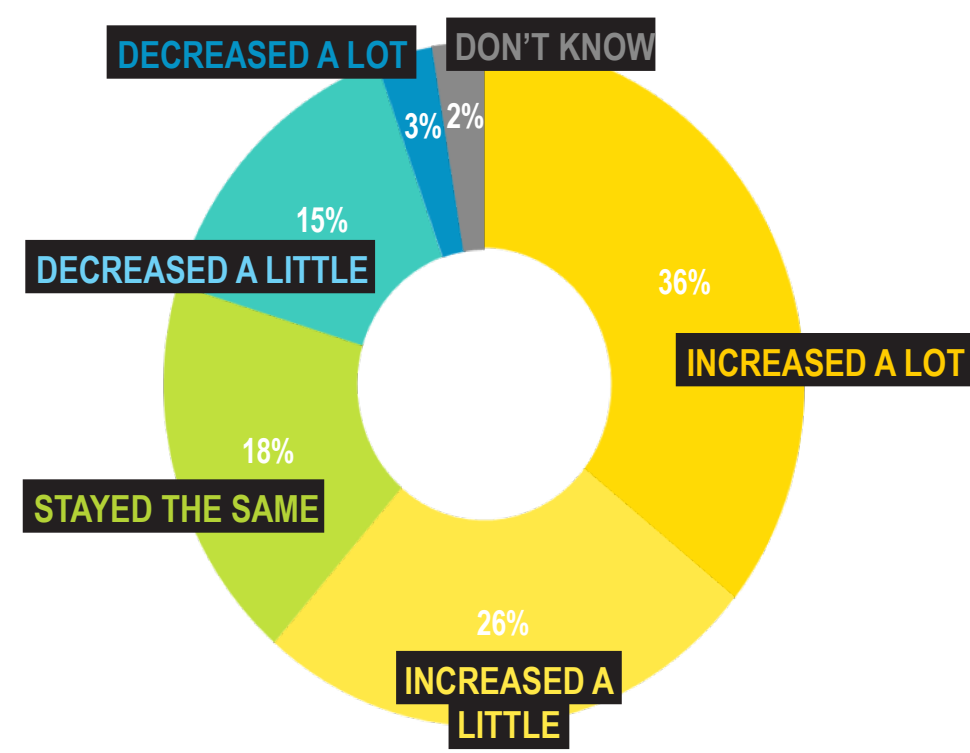
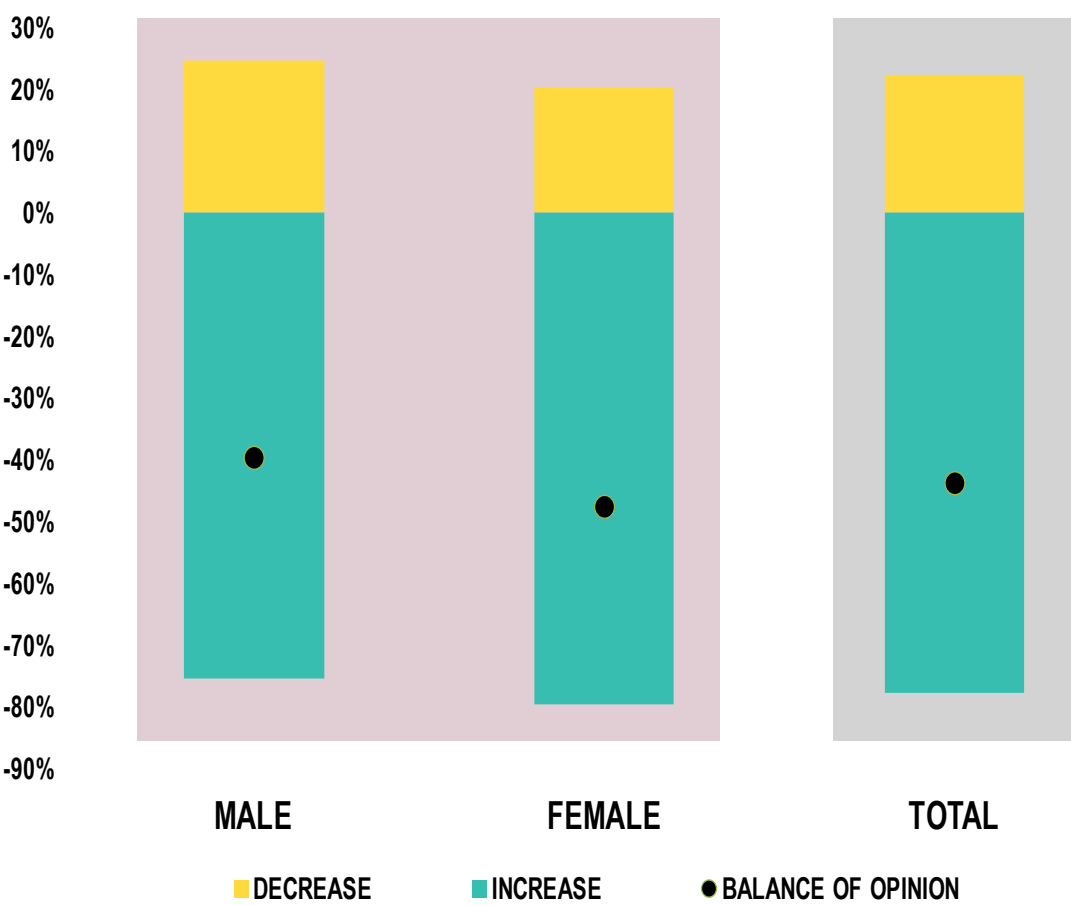


FIGURE 2
Perceived changes in corruption by gender



When analysing the Vietnamese findings in more detail, a number of differences amongst population categories can be clearly identified.⁷

First, it appears that urban women are significantly more pessimistic than urban men (balance of opinion of -47 per cent for women, versus -39 per cent for men perceiving “increased corruption”; see Figure 2).⁸ This trend could be linked to the fact that the social status of women is often more “fragile” and to the fact that women generally have more contact with the education sector and health services where corruption is widespread (see Part 2).

The most critical age group of Vietnamese citizens are those between 31-40 years, with a balance of opinion of -52 per cent perceiving corruption to have increased in the past three years. This age group is the most likely to have the greatest contact with a range of “corruption-prone sectors” from education and health services to the business community. In addition, the beginning of this age group also corresponds to the first time that most Vietnamese people generally leave their family cocoon and need to deal independently with a range of sectors.

Urban citizens with a high education background are much more negative about the development of the corruption situation than the less educated, with a balance of opinion of -49 per cent for the “highly educated” compared to -37 per cent for “less educated” respondents. Despite the fact that less educated people are disproportionately impacted by corruption, urban Vietnamese with higher education levels are more likely to possess a better awareness and understanding of corruption issues, meaning that they can identify corrupt practices more easily. They also play a role in a greater number of more complex socio-economic interactions which they may perceive to be extensively affected by corruption, from experiences with the education sector and health services to business negotiations through their work.

Perceptions vary significantly across different cities and regions: inhabitants of Hanoi are much more negative (with a balance of opinion of -58 per cent) compared to those in

Ho Chi Minh City (-37 per cent), Hai Phong (-45 per cent), Da Nang (-51 per cent) and Can Tho (-12 per cent). These findings are consistent with findings of other research⁹ as well as other findings in this report which point out more serious governance issues in Hanoi and other cities in the North.

Retired and unemployed citizens are more critical than those with a steady job. Unemployed people are more likely to face greater economic and administrative hardships in their daily life and are thus perhaps more likely to perceive corruption as being more harmful. For retired people (mainly from the public sector), their critical view may be due to their nostalgia for previous years when corruption was not yet perceived to be a serious issue in Vietnam.¹⁰

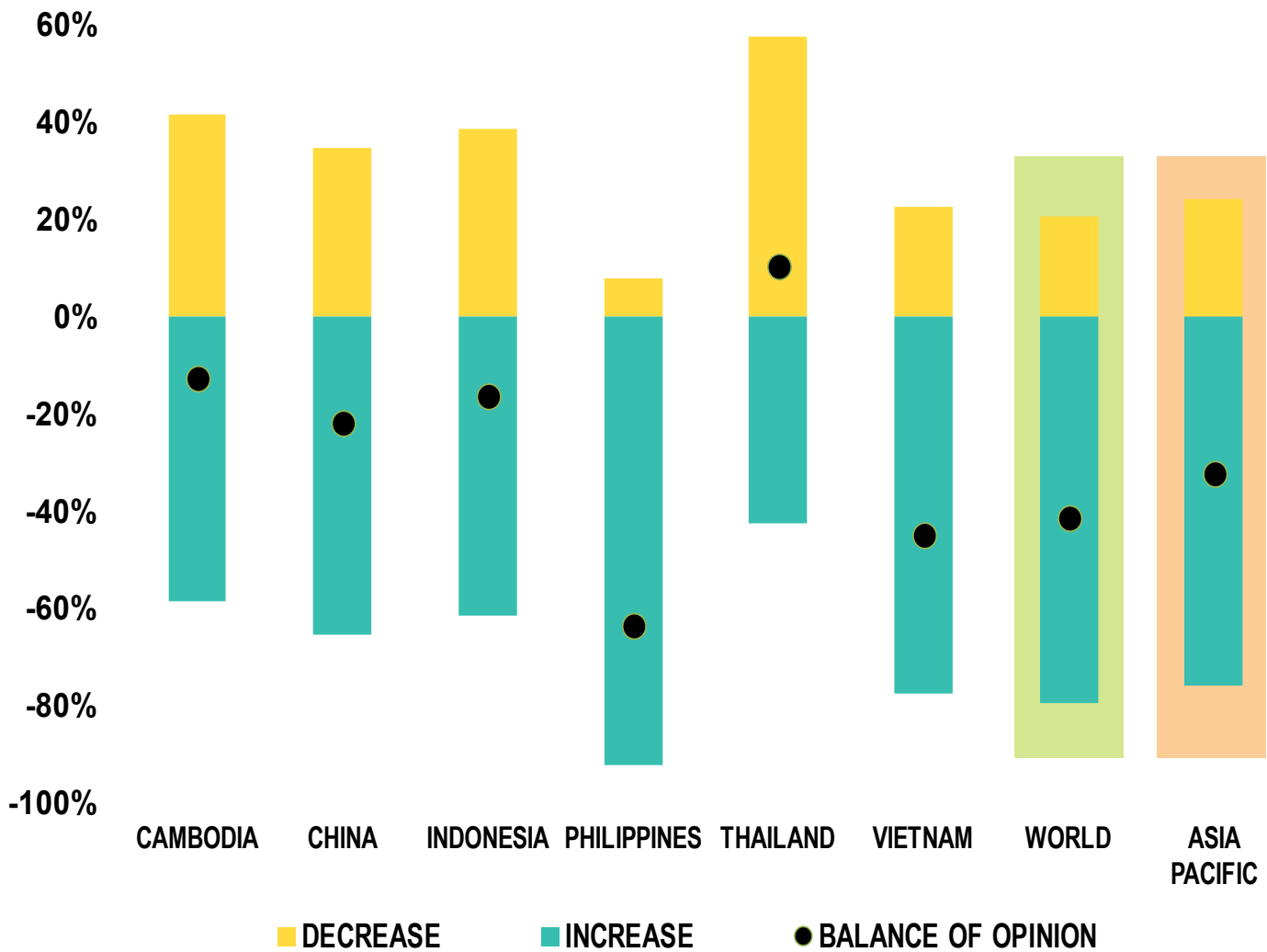
Buddhists and Christians are relatively less negative than respondents who declare themselves to be non-religious or follow other religions.

1.2 PERCEPTIONS COMPARED WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES SURVEYED

The absolute figures of perceived corruption should not be taken at face value. As in all forms of subjective data, there is always a systematic bias to overestimate negative views. As a result, it is important to benchmark results against potential comparators. When comparing Vietnam with the neighbouring countries surveyed, only citizens from the Philippines have a more negative perception of the development of corruption in their country (Figure 3). Perceptions by Vietnamese urban

citizens also sit below international and regional averages. When one takes into account the general optimism observed from Vietnamese people in most opinion surveys (World Value Surveys, etc.), along with an existing structural reluctance to publicly express dissent in a still tightly controlled society, the high level of criticism of the development of corruption over the past three years is a matter of considerable concern. At the same time it perhaps reveals that the space for voicing public opinion is widening, as Vietnamese citizens feel increasingly more comfortable in expressing their voices even if it means criticising the authorities.

FIGURE 3
Development of the perception of corruption over the last 3 years in different countries



1.3 SECTORS PERCEIVED TO BE THE MOST AFFECTED BY CORRUPTION

The 2010 Barometer asked respondents to rank their perceptions of the extent to which 11 key sectors and institutions in Vietnam¹¹ are affected by corruption, with 1 indicating not corrupt at all and 5 meaning extremely corrupt. Figure 4 illustrates that the perceived amount of corruption varies significantly across sectors.

The police and the education sector are perceived to be the most corrupt. 95 per cent of respondents perceived the police to be corrupt (with 38 per cent of respondents perceiving them to be “extremely corrupt”), indicating that corruption in the sector is more or less widespread. Across the world, international reports have found the police to be consistently listed as one of the most corrupt sectors as perceived by citizens in a number of countries. However, it is important to keep in mind that these findings may be based on the traffic police, which urban citizens are most likely to have the most contact with, and does not necessarily reflect the general perception of all public security forces.¹²

89 per cent of respondents perceive the education sector to be corrupt (with 22 per cent perceiving it to be “extremely corrupt”). Citizens are perhaps more easily able to perceive corruption in education, as it is a sector which almost all families have contact with. High rates of corruption are perhaps driven by heavy pressure and competition for quality education, particularly in urban areas.¹³

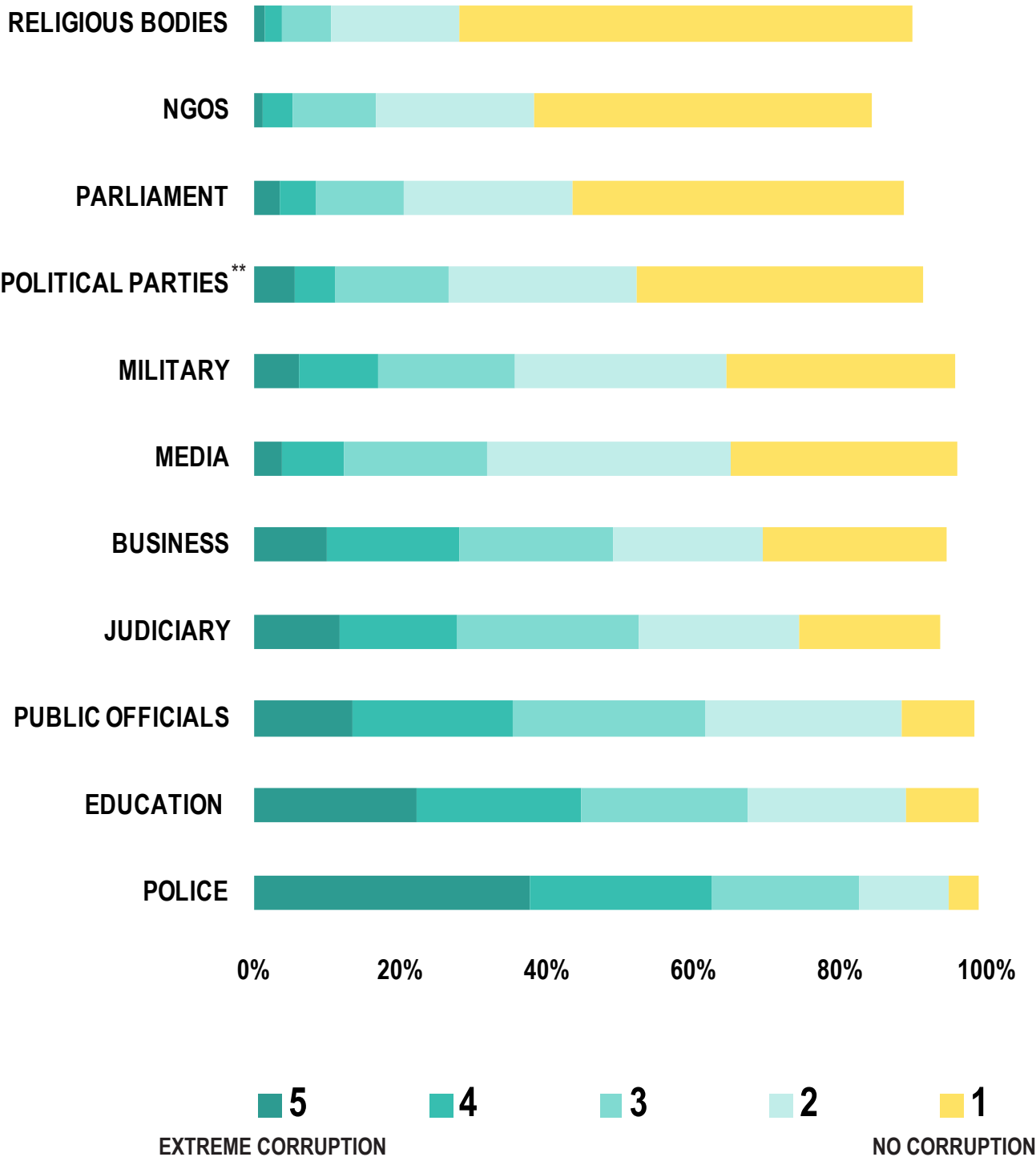
88 per cent of respondents perceive public officials and civil servants to be corrupt (yet only 13 per cent perceive them to be extremely corrupt). This mixed image probably comes from the fact that this category includes a broad range of different services, ranging from national to regional to local levels, with civil servants displaying very different behaviours across different services and regions.

The judiciary performs somewhat better. Although it is perceived to be the fourth most corrupt sector overall, around a quarter of respondents considered there to be no corruption at all in the judiciary.

Religious bodies are perceived to be the least corrupt sector from the given list. 62 per cent of respondents declare that there is no corruption at all and only 1 per cent are convinced that religious bodies are extremely corrupt. This was followed by NGOs (45 per cent and 1 per cent respectively), the National Assembly (Parliament; 45 per cent and 3 per cent respectively), the Communist Party (political parties; 39 per cent and 5 per cent), the media (30 per cent and 4 per cent) and the military (31 per cent and 6 per cent).

A mixed picture emerged from the findings of businesses and the private sector with 69 per cent of respondents reporting that the sector is plagued by some form of corruption, of which only 10 per cent consider them to be extremely corrupt.

FIGURE 4
Perceived corruption by sector *

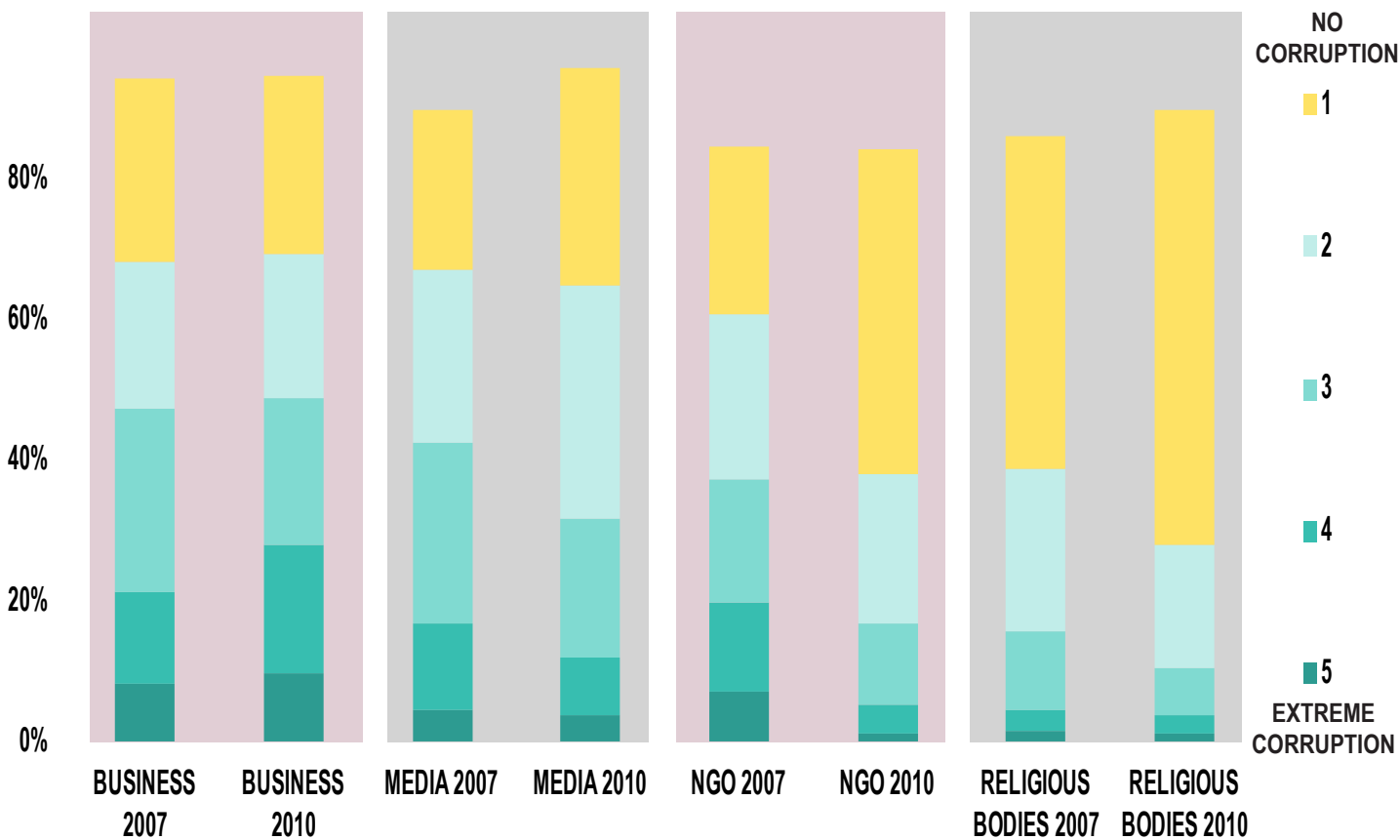


*The responses for “don’t know” or no answer are not included in Figure 4.
**The Vietnamese questionnaire used the term “Đảng” meaning the Vietnamese Communist Party.

1.4 TRENDS IDENTIFIED FROM 2007

To benchmark the results, these findings can be compared with the figures obtained in the 2007 Barometer (Figure 5). Citizen perceptions of only four institutions:¹⁴ business, the media, NGOs and religious bodies, were surveyed in both the 2007 and 2010 Barometer. Overall, corruption in these four sectors is perceived to be decreasing. While there is a slight increase in perceived corruption in the private sector (47 per cent of respondents considered corruption to be medium, severe or extremely high in 2007; compared to 49 per cent in 2010), the positive trend is notable for the media (from 42 per cent in 2007 to 32 per cent in 2010), religious bodies (from 16 per cent to 10 per cent in 2010), and especially for NGOs (from 37 per cent to 17 per cent).

FIGURE 5
Perceptions of corruption in four sectors compared between 2007 and 2010*



*The responses for "don't know" or no answer are not included in Figure 5.

1.5 PERCEPTIONS OF SECTORAL CORRUPTION BY CATEGORIES OF POPULATION

Young people generally perceive businesses and the media to be more corrupt. Their perception of businesses may be explained by the fact that young people are more likely to be searching for jobs and thus have a more fragile outlook. Further analysis of corruption in the media could be undertaken, for example, by different categories of the media (newspapers, television, internet, etc.); as these dimensions were not included in the original Barometer questionnaire. Respondents over 50 years old generally perceive civil servants as less corrupt compared to younger citizens. However they are also less likely to be victims of corruption, as demonstrated in the following sections of this report.

Better educated respondents have a relatively more negative perception of businesses, the media and the education system. In addition to being more aware of and sensitised to corruption, better educated respondents may also be able to provide better insights into how businesses work (as they are more likely to be involved in businesses at a managerial level) and how the media industry produces its news (although they may be more cynical about it as well).

Unemployed respondents are more likely to perceive civil servants and a number of other sectors to be corrupt. Unemployment results in additional difficulties and challenges for people in their daily lives, especially in their interaction with public services, potentially leading to a more negative outlook on the overall situation of society. Finally, as previously observed in the section looking at the evolution of perceptions of corruption, retired people are more critical overall.

Respondents living in big cities generally perceive a range of sectors to be more corrupt. In Hanoi, for example 86 per cent of interviewees perceive the education system to be corrupt. This reflects the findings of Transparency International's previous report on the Forms and Effects of Corruption on the Education Sector in Vietnam, which found that high competition amongst urban residents in Hanoi has resulted in various forms of corruption in the education sector, such as extra teaching and paying bribes to enroll students in preferred schools.

1.6 PERCEIVED CORRUPTION BY SECTOR COMPARED WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

The perceptions of Vietnamese urban citizens are more positive than those of its neighbours (Figure 6). All institutions surveyed in Vietnam, except the police, are perceived to be less corrupt than their equivalent in a range of other countries in the Asia Pacific region, and also internationally. Whilst urban Vietnamese may be more negative about the evolution of corruption in their country over the past three years, their perceptions of specific sectors and confidence in institutions are more positive: perhaps reflecting that the Vietnamese society is overall more optimistic of its situation and places greater confidence in its own future.

FIGURE 6
Perceived corruption by sector compared with
neighbouring countries

With 0 indicating that the sector is perceived to be not corrupt at all and 5 indicating that it is perceived to be extremely corrupt. The larger the ‘web’ the more corrupt the relevant institutions are perceived to be in the relevant country.

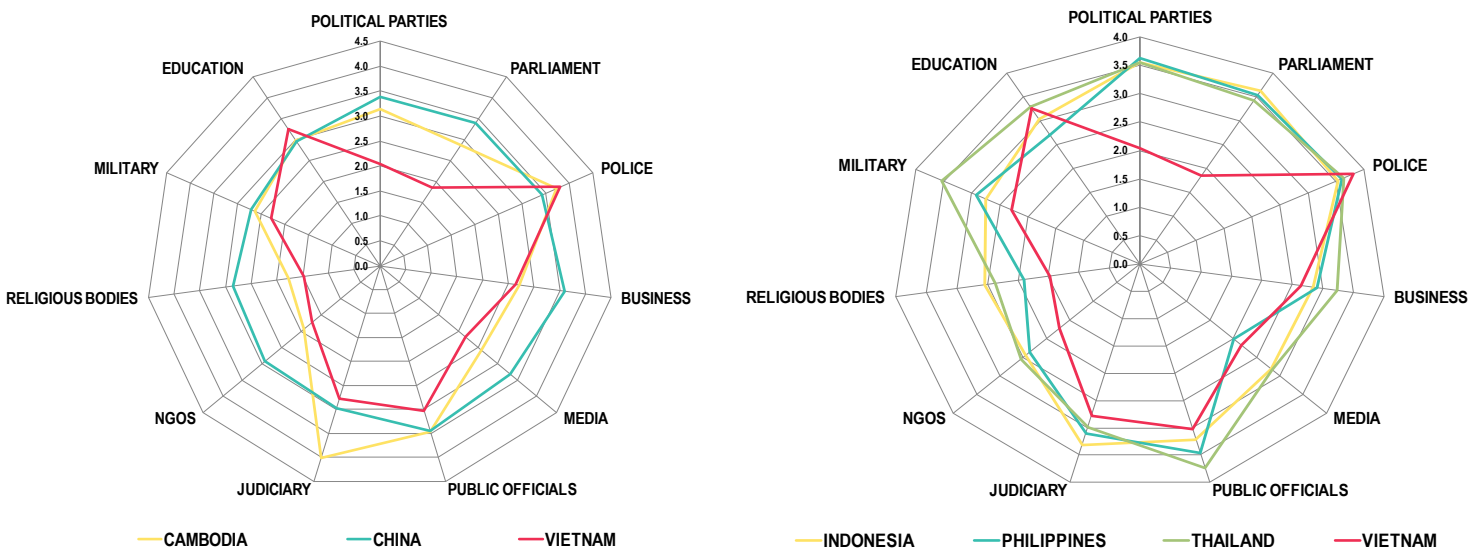
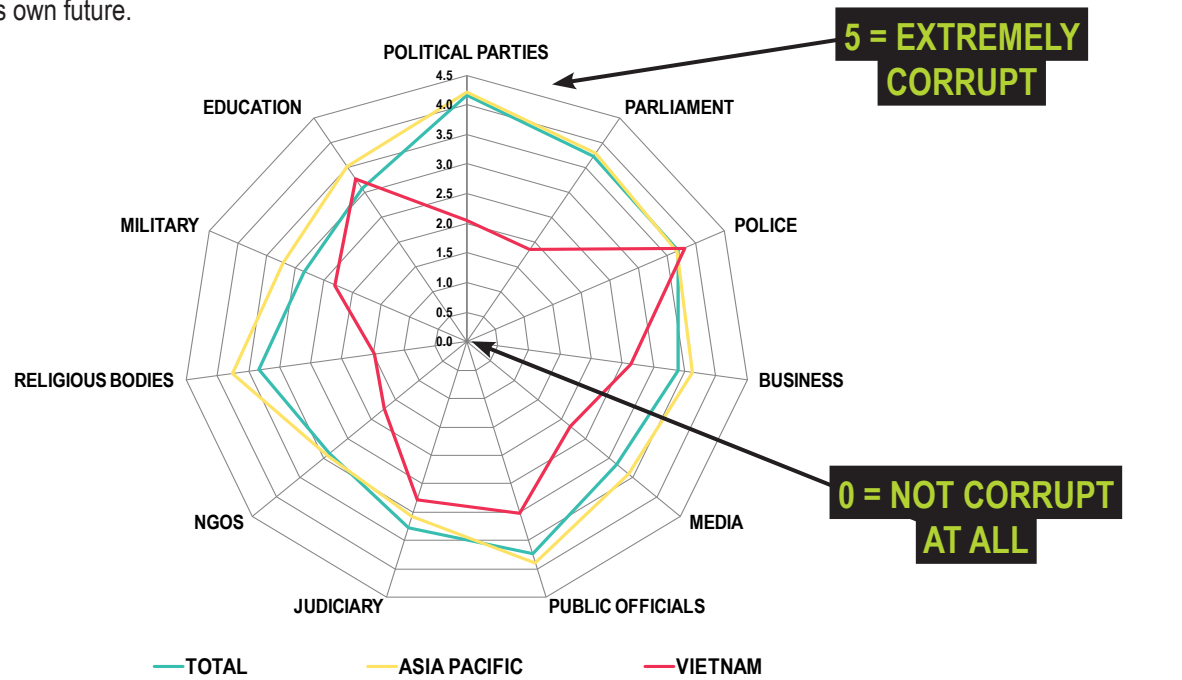
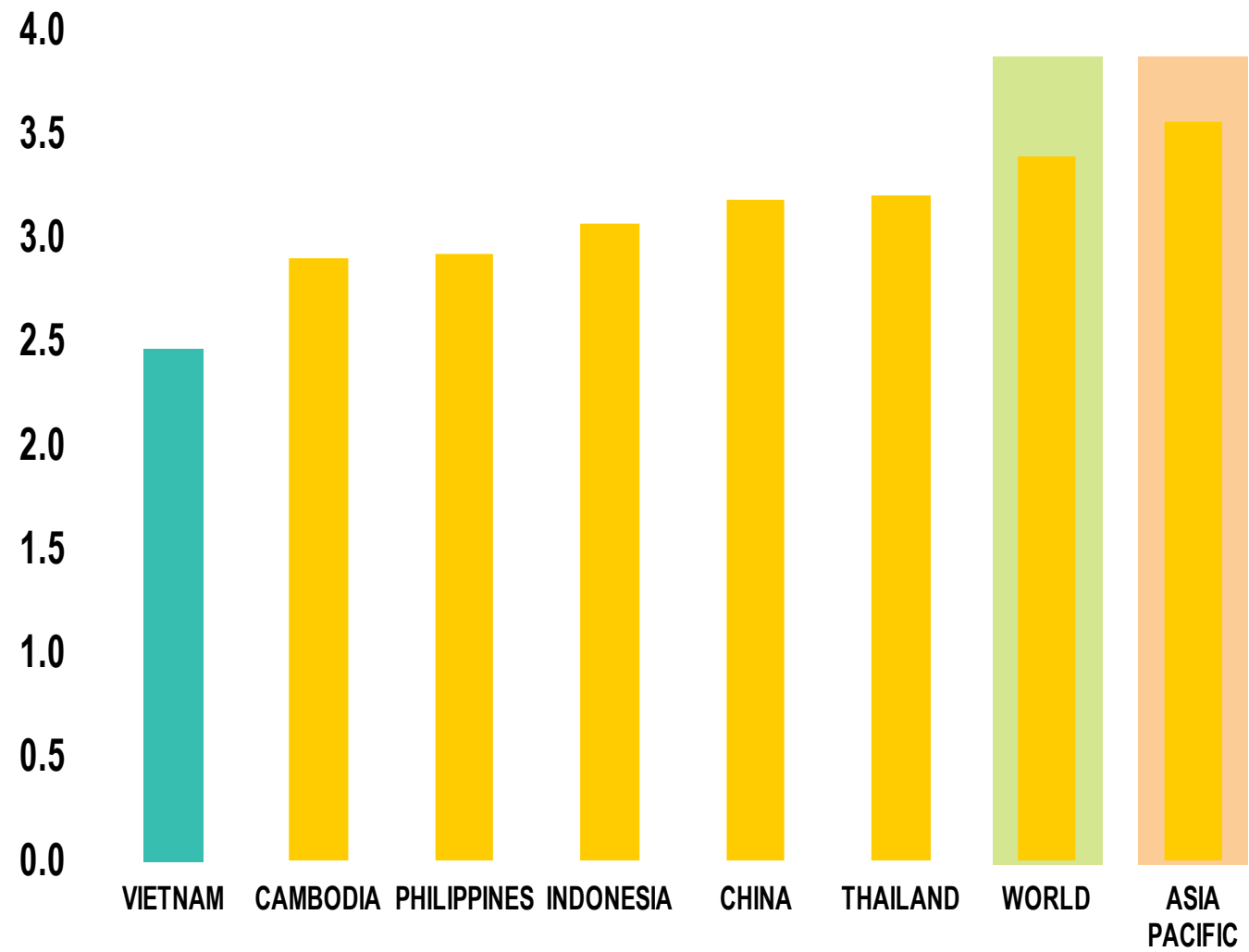


Figure 7 presents the average score of perceived corruption (across 11 institutions) in a range of countries across Asia. With an average score of 2.5 (out of 5), Vietnamese urban citizens not only perceive sectoral corruption to be lower than respondents in any other country in the region, but the rate of perceived sectoral corruption is actually amongst the lowest in the world. Out of the countries surveyed in the 2010 Barometer, only respondents from Morocco (2.1) and Switzerland (2.5) perceived corruption in key institutions and sectors in their country to occur on average at a lower or comparable rate.

Linking questions about the perceptions of sectoral corruption and the evolution of corruption, the obvious conclusion is that given that urban Vietnamese citizens clearly perceive corruption to be increasing and given the fact that public perceptions are built on actual experiences, for how long will their perception of corruption in specific sectors and institutions be lower than other countries?

FIGURE 7
Average score of perceived corruption for the 11
surveyed sectors across countries in the region



2. EXPERIENCES OF CORRUPTION IN URBAN VIETNAM

Perceptions and experiences of corruption are two inter-related dimensions, which do not necessarily operate as exact reflections of each other.¹⁵ Whilst one may expect that perceptions of corruption will positively correlate to experiences this may be not always true. A number of other exogenous factors can influence perceptions, such as media coverage, awareness of corruption issues and economic growth. Thus, perceptions of corruption should not be taken as the sole indicator of actual rates of corruption, and it is important that perceptions and actual experiences are measured and analysed separately, in order to better understand existing interrelations.

When it comes to assessing the experience of corruption, petty corruption can be much more easily monitored than grand corruption through surveys. Not only is grand corruption more difficult to uncover and investigate, but people are less likely to admit their involvement. When those involved are driven to act for their own benefit, the more difficult it is to obtain reliable indicators through direct measures.

In the 2010 Barometer (as in many other household surveys), the experience of corruption by ordinary citizens is captured through the following questions:

A. “In the past 12 months, have you or anyone living in your household had a contact with the following institution / organisation?”; and

B. “In the past 12 months, have you or anyone living in your household paid a bribe in any form to each of the following institutions / organisations?”

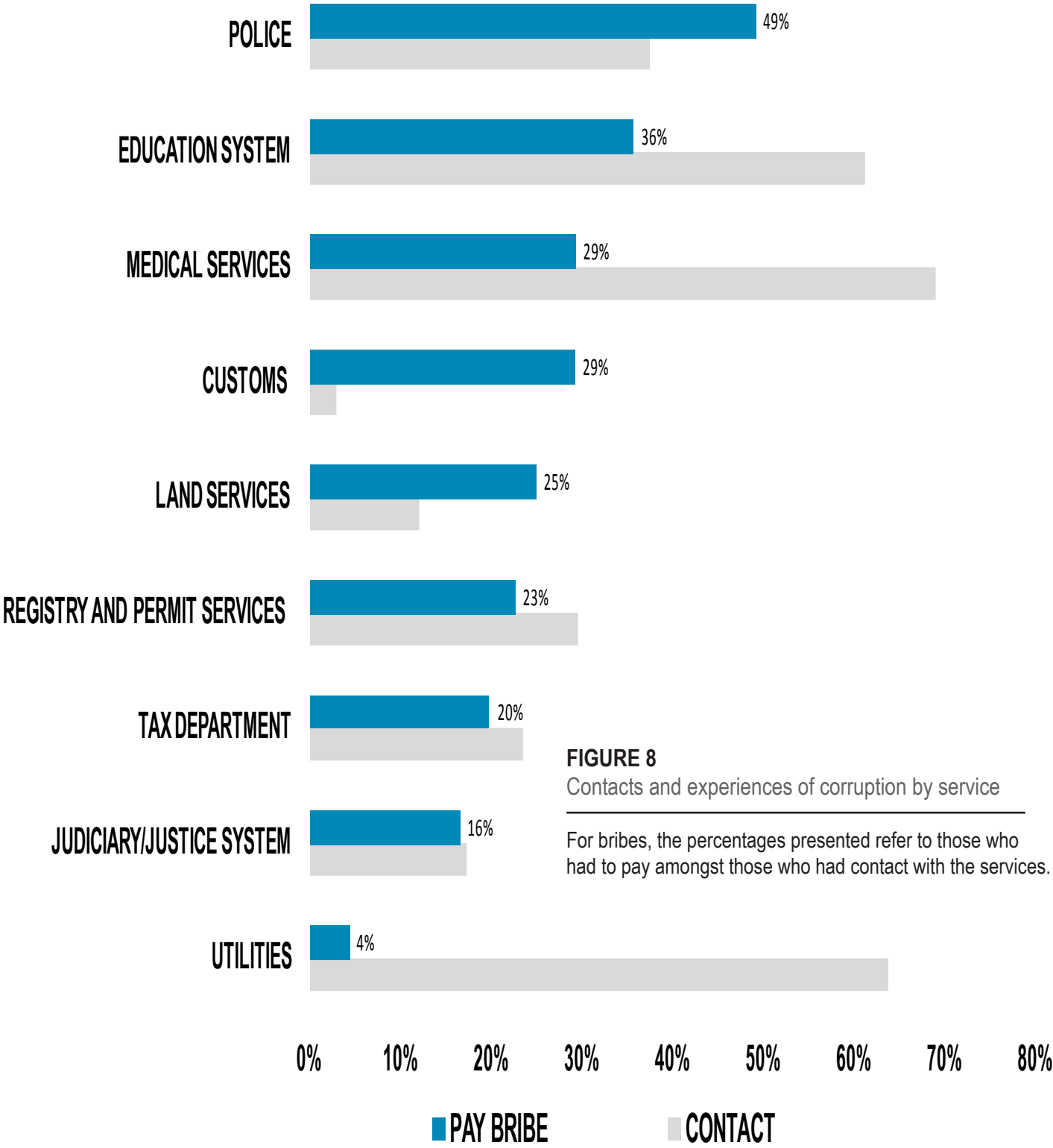
2.1 EXPERIENCES OF SECTORAL CORRUPTION

The Barometer surveyed respondent on their experiences with corruption across nine different sectors.¹⁶ The results show a high incidence of corruption in Vietnam: 40.5 per cent of urban Vietnamese paid at least one bribe in the past year to at least one of the nine listed services. However, as shown in figure 8, since respondents do not always have contact with specific service providers (more than 7 per cent of respondent did not have any contact with any of the nine services) the actual incidence of corruption amongst service users is potentially much higher.

Consistent with the perceived levels of corruption in specific sectors, the police and the education system were also found to be the sectors with the highest incidence of actual experience of corruption (49 per cent per cent and 36 per cent of respondents who had been in contact with the respective sectors paid bribes).

Corruption in the education sector has become prevalent over the past few years in cities where competition for “quality education” is increasing. The incidence of corruption in medical services and customs are also particularly high (with 29 per cent per cent of users in both sectors paying a bribe).

25 and 23 per cent of people who had contact with land services and registry and permit services respectively had to pay a bribe. These results support previous research and analysis.¹⁷ However, since the survey only includes urban citizens, the extent of challenges experienced with corruption in land services by the rural population in Vietnam is not fully reflected. Given that corruption in land services is traditionally considered to be one of the sectors most prone to corruption, the upcoming 2012 Barometers should survey should include perceptions of this sector further to give a fuller picture.



A slightly lower incidence of corruption in the tax department (20 percent) and in the justice system (16 per cent) may be the result of strong ongoing efforts to modernise these sectors. Finally, utility services (water, electricity, and etc.) came out remarkably clean from the findings with an incidence of only 4 per cent of corruption amongst service users, indicating very few corrupt transactions are experienced on average by urban citizens.¹⁸

Further analysis of the findings shows some striking differences. Although women are more critical of the corruption situation in Vietnam and generally have greater contact with corruption-prone sectors, such as education and health, Vietnamese urban men actually experience slightly more corruption than women. This particularly applies to the case of the police with 53 per cent of men, who had contact with the police in the past year encountering corruption, compared to 44 per cent for women.

This may be explained by the fact that men are more likely to engage in illegal behaviors, more likely to be solicited for bribes, or that men are perhaps more willing to offer bribes to get out of such situations. In any case, the fact that women perceive higher rates of corruption, while at the same time actually experiencing less corruption perhaps reinforces existing arguments that women possess more integrity and are less corrupt than men.¹⁹

Vietnamese urban citizens between the ages of 31-40 years experience more corruption than the rest of the population. This is particularly the case with the police (61 per cent), in education (47 per cent), health (40 per cent) and permit registration (31 per cent). As already mentioned above, the greater incidence of experiences with corruption amongst this age group is likely to be related to the fact that this is a period in life where people form a family, build a house, have children, take over many responsibilities from their parents and etc. They are in greater contact with all parts of State

services and the business community. For this group the correlation between experience and corruption seem stronger since they have the strongest perception that corruption is getting worse over the past three years.

Citizens with higher incomes are more likely to experience corruption. In the education sector, for example, 58 per cent of respondents with “medium high income revenues” experience corruption compared to 33 per cent of respondents with “low income revenues.” Similar patterns can be found in the health sector, and in dealings with the police and registration permit services. This is most likely attributed to the fact that civil servants know that they can try to extort more money from people with higher incomes, while at the same time, those with higher revenues may be more likely to offer bribes to “overcome” situations. Yet this does not necessarily mean corruption places a heavier burden on those with higher incomes, as bribes have a disproportionate impact on those who can least afford it. Although citizens with lower incomes may experience lower incidences of corruption, they are nonetheless still likely to lose a greater proportion of their income to corruption.

Corruption occurs more often in the north of the country, especially in Hanoi with, for example, very high incidences of corruption in education (with 70 per cent of respondents who had contact paying a bribe), with the police (60 per cent) and in medical services (52 per cent). In comparison, only 6 per cent of respondents in Ho Chi Minh City who had contact with the education and health sector reported paying bribes. The considerable difference may be explained by the increasing privatisation of certain public services in some of these cities (especially Ho Chi Minh City), but also reflects clear governance challenges in Hanoi.

Christians and Buddhists experience significantly less corruption. This may be linked to the broader social networks which surround these communities.

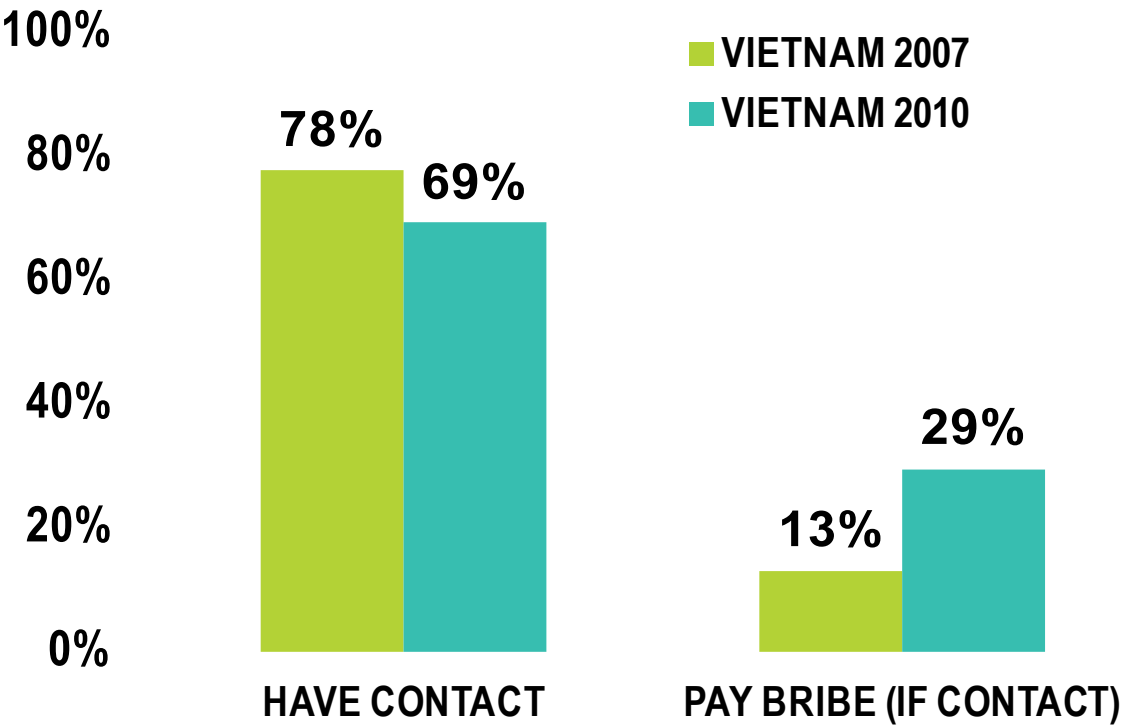
2.2 EVOLUTION OF EXPERIENCES OF CORRUPTION OVER TIME IN THE HEALTH SECTOR

Experiences of corruption in the health sector were surveyed in both the 2007 and 2010 Barometer for Vietnam, allowing comparisons in the way experiences of corruption in this sector has evolved over the past three years. The results are particularly worrying (see Figure 9). In 2007, “only” 13 per cent of Vietnamese urban citizens who had been in contact with the health sector had to pay bribes in the past year. By 2010, this figure had more than doubled to 29 per cent.

At the same time, the number of respondents accessing health services dropped from 78 per cent in 2007 to 69 per cent in 2010. This decrease may be attributed to both an increasing reluctance to access public health services (as

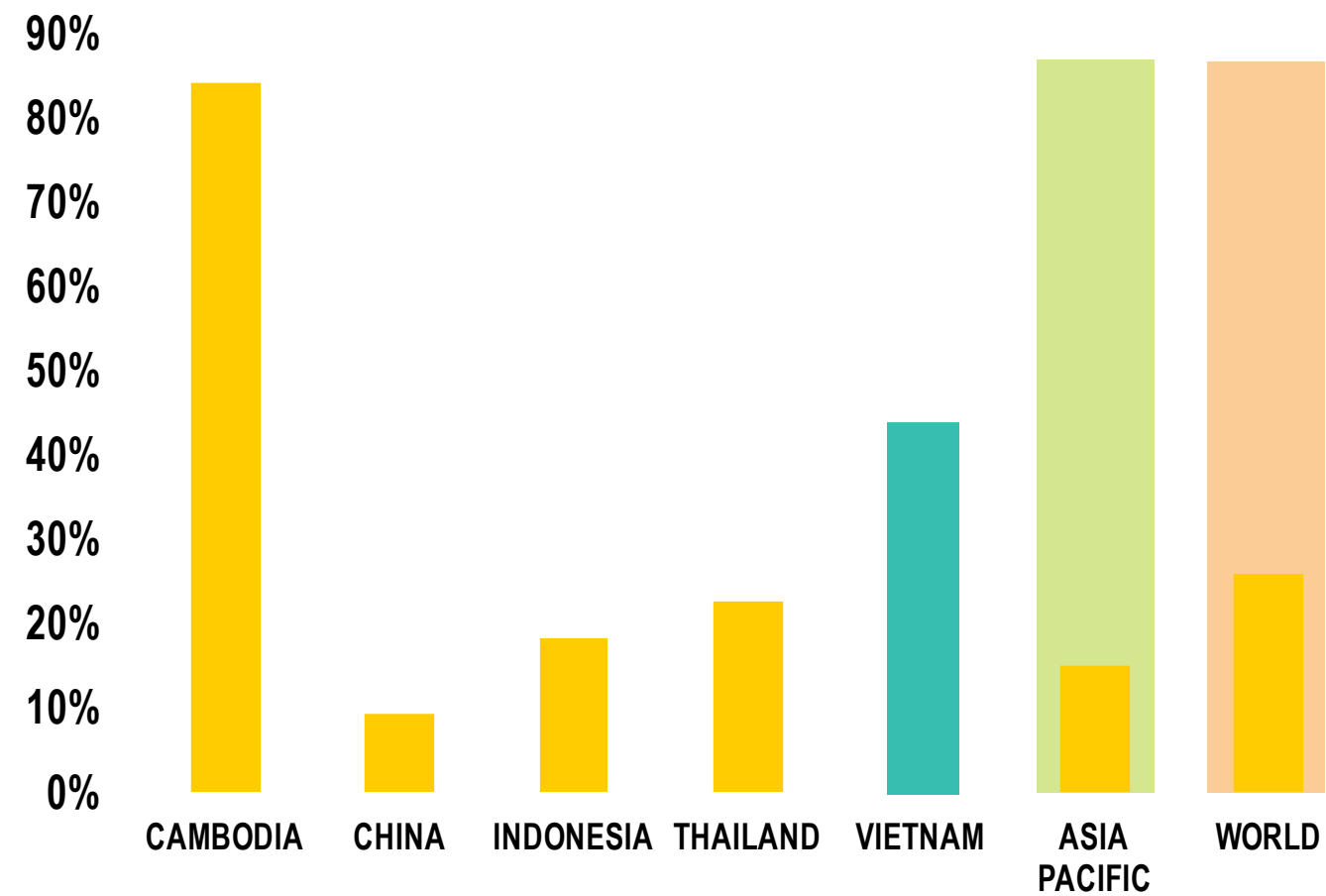
a result of previous experiences with corruption) and rapidly rising income levels (particularly in urban areas), resulting in more and more people choosing to go to private facilities instead.

FIGURE 9
Evolution of experience of corruption in the health sector 2007 and 2010



2.3 EXPERIENCE OF CORRUPTION COMPARED TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

If the average incidence of corruption (for the 9 sectors surveyed) in urban Vietnam is compared with those of neighbouring countries surveyed, the unambiguous observation which comes out is that Vietnamese urban citizens experience much more corruption than both the global and Asia Pacific regional average (Figure 10). Only Cambodian citizens experience significantly more corruption than urban Vietnamese citizens.



This situation underlines a paradox: whilst urban Vietnamese perceive their country's institutions to be less affected by corruption, compared to their regional neighbours (and also citizens in most countries around the world), they actually experience higher incidences of corruption. However, given the impressive transformation and development Vietnam has seen over the past few

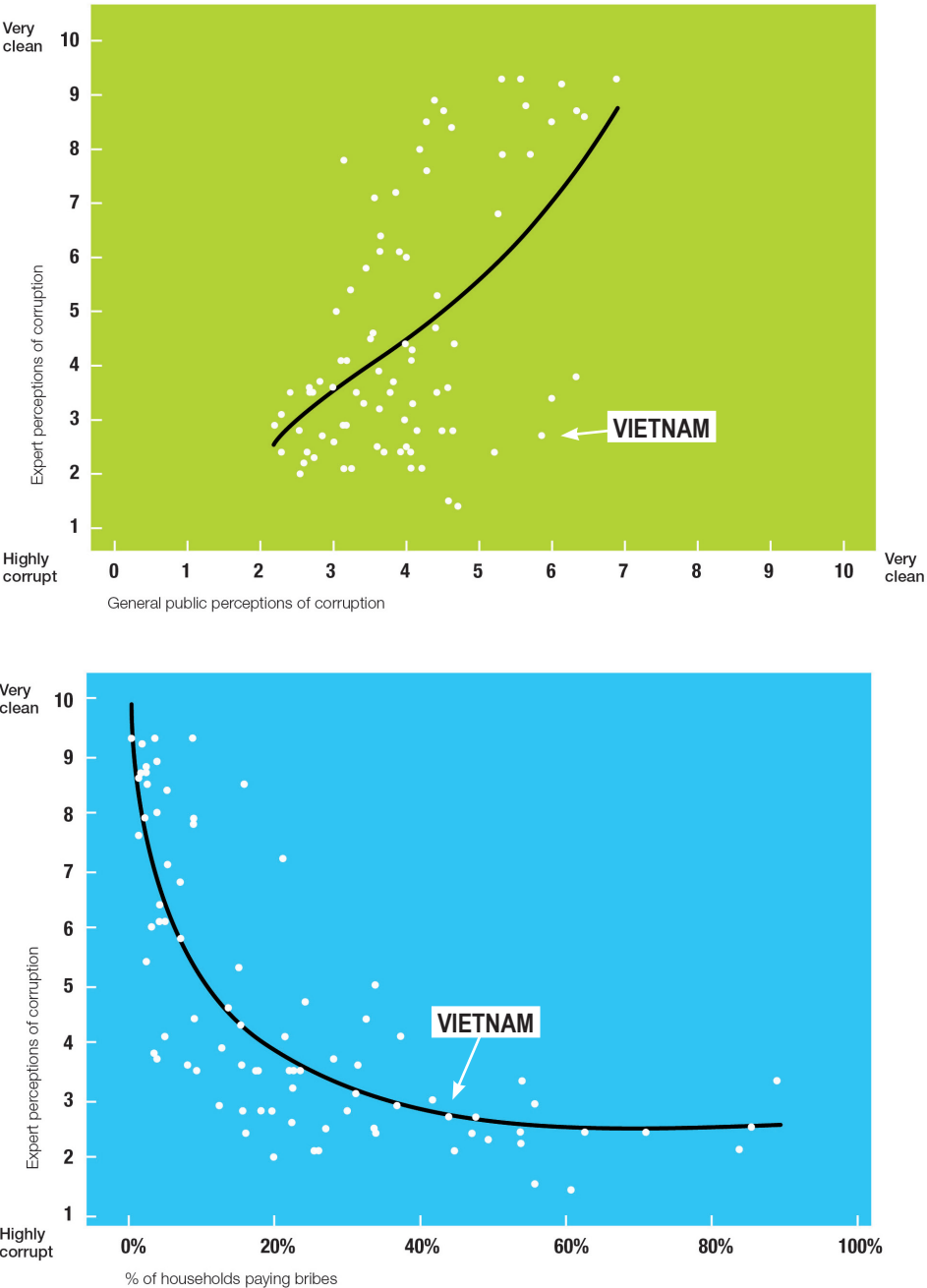
FIGURE 10
Incidence of experienced corruption among service users in different countries

The experience of corruption reported in the table is the simple average of the incidence of corruption among services users for the nine surveyed services.

decades, it is understandable, that due to the massive improvements ordinary Vietnamese citizens have experienced in their daily lives, they may have a lower perception of corruption in their country. Nonetheless, as people become adjusted to the new levels of development, such high incidences of corruption are likely to shape and influence perceptions.

According to the perception of experts from the 2010 Corruption Perception Index (CPI),²⁰ Vietnam ranks 116 out of 178 countries surveyed, with a rating of 2.7 (with 0 being highly corrupt and 10 being very clean). When compared to the perceptions of ordinary urban Vietnamese citizens in the 2010 Barometer, it is clear that the general urban public does not perceive corruption to be as widespread in Vietnam as the experts (top Figure 11). However, as shown below, there is a strong alignment between the perceptions of experts and actual experiences of bribery by urban Vietnamese as captured in the 2010 Barometer.

FIGURE 11
Citizen's perceptions and experiences versus expert's perceptions



However, the fact that the Vietnam 2010 Barometer only surveys urban areas may present an over-estimation of actual incidences of corruption in Vietnam, as experiences of corruption are shown to be higher in urban areas than in rural areas of Vietnam.²¹

The inclusion of a representative sample of both the Vietnamese urban and rural population in the upcoming 2012 Barometer survey, will allow better comparisons and may help unpack the paradox underlined above.

2.4 REASONS FOR GIVING BRIBES

Respondents were also asked why they give bribes. 81 per cent of Vietnamese urban citizens who paid bribes over the past year reported that they did it to “speed up things”. Only 10 per cent of people answered that they gave bribes to “avoid a problem with the authorities” and 6 per cent to “receive a service they are entitled to”. These findings are relatively homogeneous across categories, although women and respondents aged 31-40 year are more likely to pay bribes to speed things up, men and respondents under 30 years were more likely to pay bribes to “avoid a problem”; and respondents over 50 years were more likely pay bribes to “receive a service they are entitled to”.

The reason for this may be social or cultural, namely that Vietnamese prefer to avoid contact with State services as much as possible – so when they cannot escape these contacts then they are willing to “speed up things” as much as possible

Compared to the reasons for giving bribes provided by neighbouring countries and responses from across the world, Vietnamese citizens report giving bribes in order to speed things up much more than in other countries (88 per cent compared to the regional average of 28 per cent and worldwide average of 22 per cent).

TABLE 1
Reasons for giving a bribe in Vietnam and abroad

	Avoid a problem with the authorities	Speed up things	Receive a service entitled to	Don't know	Don't remember
Vietnam	10 %	81 %	6 %	1 %	2 %
Asia-Pacific	12 %	28 %	35 %	20 %	5 %
Worldwide average	44 %	22 %	17 %	14 %	3 %

If confirmed by other surveys, this finding is very important as it suggests that in order to fight against corruption in Vietnam, one of the most urgent solutions is to improve the efficiency of services. In other words, anti-corruption efforts could be substantially improved by a successful public administration reform program. However to better understand why people give bribes in Vietnam, it may be important for future surveys

to look at what happens if people do not give bribes- is the service delivered normally (even if more slowly); and to also identify how many people avoid contact with specific institutions because of their experiences or perceptions of corruption in these sectors.

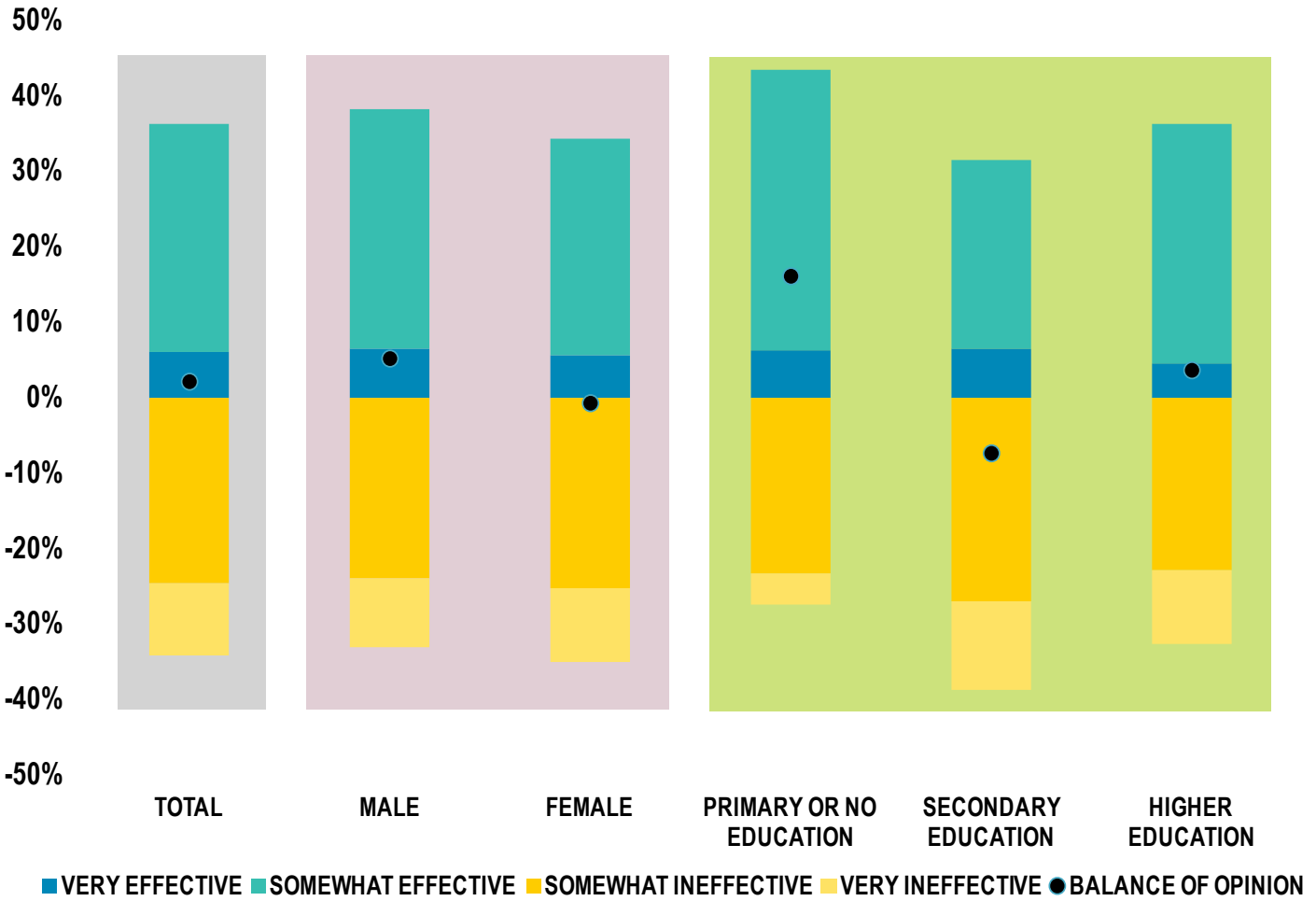
3. ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS AND ANTI-CORRUPTION FIGHTERS

3.1 ASSESSMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT’S ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS

The 2010 Barometer asks urban Vietnamese to assess the anti-corruption efforts of the Government. It also looks at their trust in a range of different institutions fighting corruption and their role and involvement in anti-corruption efforts.

The overall assessment of urban Vietnamese of their Government’s efforts to fight corruption is quite balanced: on one side of the scale 6.1 per cent of the interviewees find the Government to be very effective and 30.2 per cent somewhat effective (totaling 36.3 per cent); on the other side 24.7 per cent of the interviewees find the Government somewhat ineffective and 8.4 per cent very ineffective (totaling 33.1 per cent). This results in a positive balance of opinions of +2.1 per cent (Figure 12). Just under one third of respondents consider the government to be “neither effective nor ineffective” in the fight against corruption or responded that they didn’t know.

FIGURE 12
Perception of effectiveness of anti-corruption policies by gender and education levels



Women are generally more critical than men, with an overall balance of opinion negative of -1 per cent, compared to +5 per cent for men. This result is consistent with the previous finding of this report showing that women are systematically less flexible than men when following ethics and principles of integrity.

Vietnamese urban citizens aged between 31-40 years are, once again, the most negative, with a balance of opinion of almost -6 per cent, probably due to the fact that this age group experiences the most corruption. Other groups are all more positive in their overall assessment. Youth under 30 years are particularly positive with a balance of opinion of +5 per cent.

Respondents, for whom secondary school is the highest education level attained, are the most critical (with a balance of opinion of -7 per cent), whereas those with a higher education level (eg. university level) (+4 per cent) and those with no or only basic education (+16 per cent) are more positive. These differences may be related to the relative impact of corruption on the urban low-middle class. Given existing correlations between educational levels and economic wealth, higher educated respondents may potentially be solicited for bribes more often. However, for the best educated, corruption perhaps has less impact on

their daily lives because they are in a better position to be able to afford to pay bribes. At the same time less educated citizens are likely to be solicited less frequently for bribes, as they have less money to offer and are probably more likely to adopt strategies of avoiding of contact with public services. They also may be less critical because they are more cynical, viewing corruption as the normal way of how things work, and consequently perceiving available achievements in fighting against corruption as more limited.

Retired people are by far more negative than others, with a balance of opinion of -16 per cent. This appears in line with the increasing number of anti-corruption complaints driven by retired citizens that have been witnessed in Vietnam over the past few years.

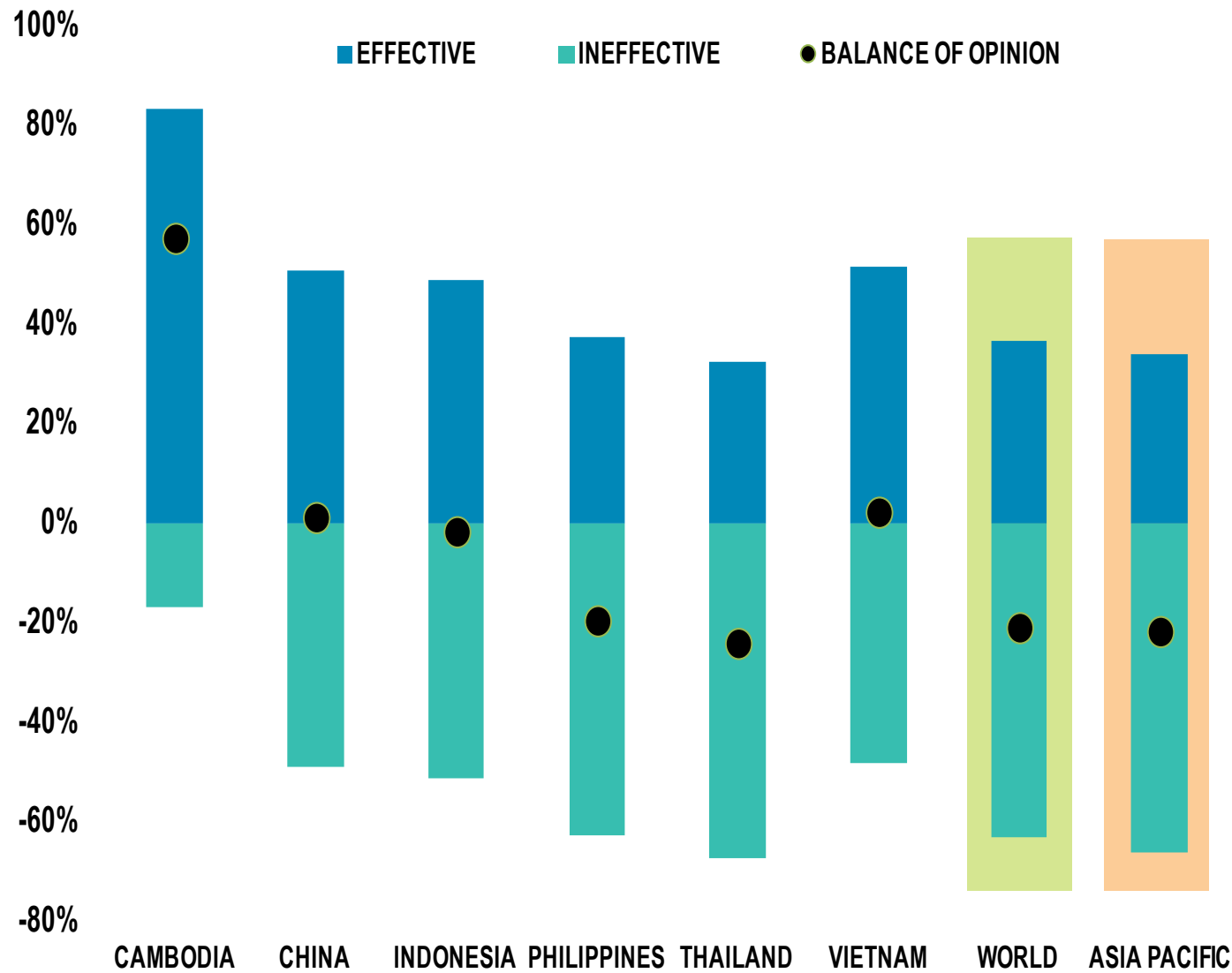
In Hanoi, citizens have the most negative views with a very clear negative balance of opinion of -34 per cent. The finding for Ho Chi Minh City is more positive than the total average with +10 per cent; the same holds for Hai Phong (+16 per cent) and Da Nang (+26 per cent). The balance of opinion is particularly positive in one city: Can Tho, with +57 per cent.

Buddhists (+12 per cent) and Christians (+19 per cent) have a more positive assessment of the Government efforts than those who declare themselves non-religious and other religious groups.

3.2 ASSESSMENT OF GOVERNMENT EFFORTS COMPARED TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

Comparing the findings for Vietnam with its neighbours surveyed (Figure 12), the assessment of the Vietnamese Government's efforts to fight corruption is relatively better than in most other countries, and is at a similar level to how Chinese citizens perceive their government's efforts. The only country where citizens assess their government's efforts as more effective is Cambodia.

FIGURE 13
Assessment of current government efforts to fight corruption in different countries

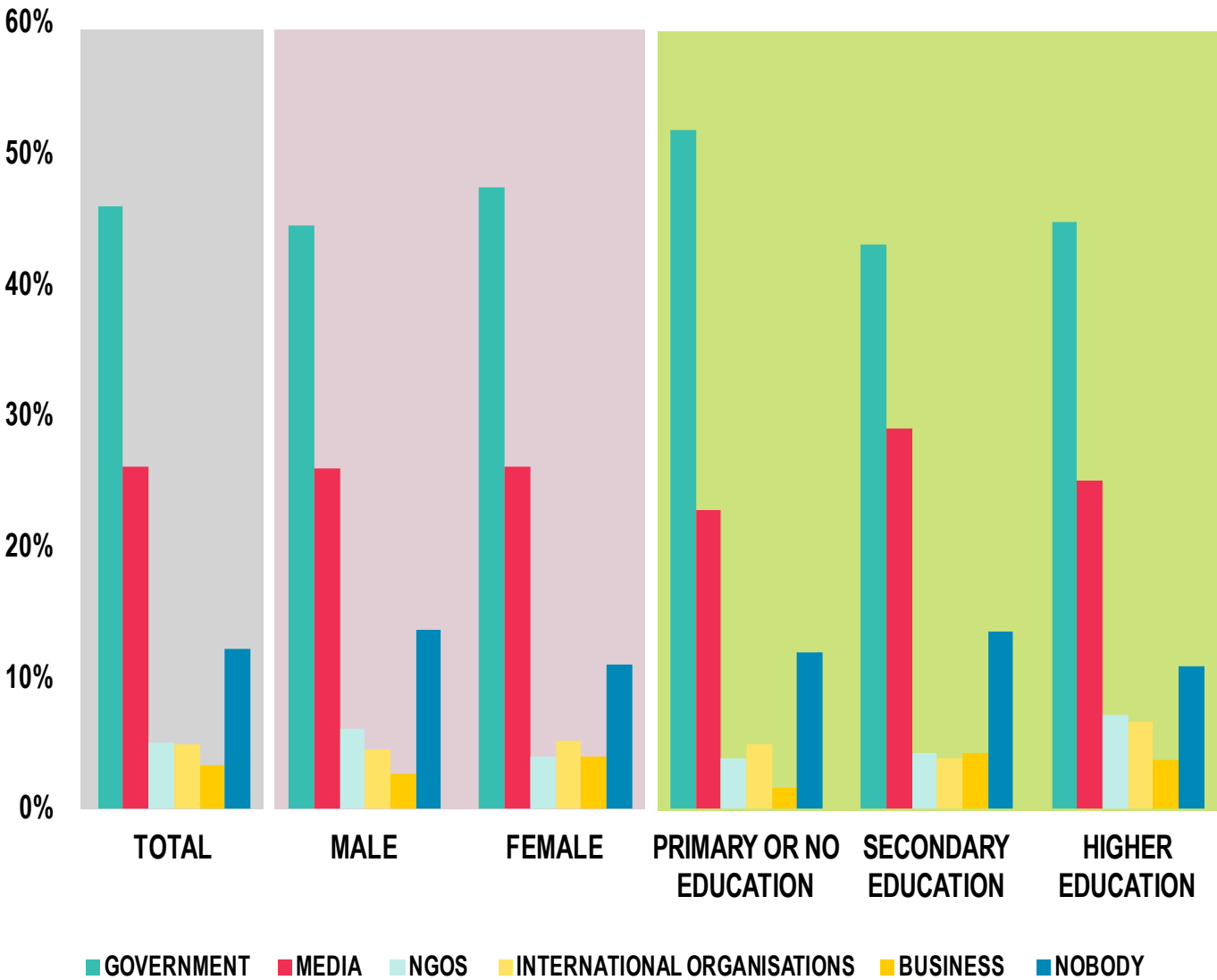


3.3 TRUST IN DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS TO FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Despite the balanced assessment of Government efforts, the Barometer finds that the Government is the most trusted institution/sector to fight corruption out of the sectors listed. 46.5 per cent of urban Vietnamese respondents place the most trust in Government leaders to achieve results in the fight against corruption (Figure 14). The media is the second most trusted institution (26.1 per cent). Few respondents select the business/private sector, NGOs or international organisations as their most trusted institution.

Only 12 per cent of respondents answered that they trust nobody in the fight against corruption, clearly reflecting the pessimism and skepticism shared by a considerable proportion of Vietnamese urban citizens when it comes to effectively fighting against corruption.

FIGURE 14
Most trusted anti-corruption fighter by gender and level of education



However two points should be emphasised. Firstly, given that the question only asks respondents for the most trusted institution, the results do not mean that institutions which were less frequently selected, are not trusted at all by citizens. Secondly the results also raise the issue of whether non-governmental organisations have the “space” to be able to fight corruption.

Younger respondents (under 40 years old) are less likely to consider the Government to be the most trusted actor in anti-corruption (40-42 per cent) compared to respondents between 41-50 years (54 per cent). At the same time, younger respondents place greater trust in the media.

Respondents from the lower income quintile place greater trust in Government leaders (55 per cent), compared to those from the higher income quintile (39 per cent), who place greater trust in the media (39 per cent compared to 24 per cent). Thus, respondents from the higher income quintile trust the media as much as the Government to be the most effective actor in anti-corruption. This finding certainly echoes public opinion complaints relayed by the urban media about the Government’s overall efficiency.

At the same time, respondents who had completed secondary school and higher education place less trust in the Government as the most efficient anti-corruption fighter compared to those who had received only basic education (43-45 per cent compared to 52 per cent respectively).

In line with previous results, retired people appear also to have slightly less trust in the Government compared to the national average (41 per cent compared to 46 per cent).

Respondents from Hanoi placed much lower trust in the Government (38 per cent) compared to Ho Chi Minh City (49 per cent). Respondents from the North also placed lower trust in the government compared to respondents from the Center and the South. It should also be pointed out that 17 per cent of respondents in Hanoi answered that they trust nobody, compared to the national average of 12 per cent.

Once again Can Tho’s citizens are the most positive about the Government leaders, with 61 per cent of interviewees in Can Tho trusting Government most. In Da Nang there seems to be a very strong trust in media (38 per cent).

3.4 TRUST IN GOVERNMENT EFFORTS IN ANTI-CORRUPTION COMPARED TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

Urban Vietnamese citizens place much stronger trust in Government leaders as the most efficient actor in fighting corruption compared with regional and international averages (46 per cent in Vietnam compared to only 17 per cent of people regionally considers the government to be the most trusted institution) (Table 2). At the same time, the media are relatively less trusted as an important anti-corruption actor in Vietnam, compared to regional averages. Respondents also appear to be less skeptical in Vietnam (only 12 per cent trusted nobody, compared to the regional average of 26 per cent and global average of 25 per cent). Consequently, Vietnamese authorities are still in a very favorable position to push anti-corruption efforts further as they benefit from strong popular trust.

TABLE 2
Whom do people trust the most to fight corruption in their country?

	Government leaders	Media	Business / Private Sector	NGOs	International Organisations	Nobody
Vietnam	46 %	26 %	3 %	5 %	5 %	12 %
Asia-Pacific	17 %	34 %	10 %	10 %	3 %	26 %
World	22 %	25 %	11 %	9 %	8 %	25 %

3.5 THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE IN ANTI-CORRUPTION

Urban Vietnamese strongly believe that ordinary people can make a difference, with 67 per cent of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with this idea. More than 95 per cent of respondents are ready to support a colleague or a friend to fight corruption. 80 per cent of respondents could imagine themselves getting involved in anti-corruption action. 66 per cent of respondents would report corruption. The readiness of Vietnamese urban citizens to get more involved in fighting corruption appears clearly in the Vietnam Country Analysis 2010. This may reflect the fact that people find the corruption situation in their country to be deteriorating, that they have a mixed assessment of the efficiency of current anti-corruption efforts and that they want to do more to address the issue. This may also reflect positively on the efforts by the Government to enable conditions for society to get more active in preventing and fighting corruption.

Yet, in contrast to the high percentage of people willing to support a colleague or could imagine getting involved, only 66 per cent of respondents would actually report an incidence of corruption, suggesting that there is an urgent need to strength whistleblowers protection.

Women are slightly more likely to believe that they can make a difference in anti-corruption (69 per cent compared to 65 per cent of men). However, men are slightly more ready to help a friend/colleague or to get personally involved in fighting corruption, whilst 68 per cent of men would report a corrupt act (compared to 64 per cent of women).

Respondents under 30 years are more ready to report corruption (71 per cent) than those between 31-40 years (60 per cent), confirming the strong willingness of Vietnamese youth to get more involved in anti-corruption efforts.²²

3.6 READINESS TO PLAY A ROLE IN ANTI-CORRUPTION COMPARED TO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

Compared with regional and international averages, the readiness for action of the urban Vietnamese comes out very clearly, except when it actually comes to reporting an incident of corruption (Table 3). These big differences in results complete the paradoxical picture of urban Vietnamese citizens who have more positive perceptions of corruption and at the same time more negative experiences, a balanced but more positive assessment of the Government's efforts and are much more ready to get involved.

TABLE 3
People's views on getting involved in anti-corruption in Vietnam and abroad

	Ordinary people can make a difference	Would support colleagues and friends	Could imagine getting involved	Would report an incidence of corruption
Vietnam	67 %	95 %	80 %	66 %
Asia Pacific	62 %	60 %	31 %	67 %
World	69 %	71 %	49 %	71 %

A SYNTHETIC VIEW OF CORRUPTION IN VIETNAM

To investigate further on the main drivers of corruption and anti-corruption, a number of econometric models on the different phenomenon under review in this report have been employed. It is particularly worthwhile to dig beyond the unconditional correlations adopted in the previous parts of this report in order to present a synthetic view of corruption in Vietnam (see annex 1 for more details on the methodology). Four models are estimated, corresponding to four different dimensions of the 2010 GCB: the perception of corruption (evolution over 2007-2010 and the level of perceived corruption today; model 1 and 2 respectively), the experience of corruption (model 3) and keenness to engage in anti-corruption (model 4).

These econometric models confirm that youth are significantly more critical of the level and the evolution of corruption than their counterparts (see Table 4 in annex 1). Sex, income and education levels do not matter, once controlled for other factors. Those who had to pay bribes are more negative. In addition, service users (those who had contact with listed services) were also more critical, regardless of whether they had been confronted with corruption or not. This result may mean that public services are perceived to be so affected by corruption, that it becomes obvious to all Vietnamese, even for those not directly involved in corrupt transactions

In terms of experiences with corruption, age is an important correlation. The older people are, the less prone people are to suffer corruption. This particularly applies to retired people. As previously noted, women are less affected (but the coefficient is not significant at standard levels). While levels of education do not seem to be at play, levels of income are, with exposure to corruption increasing with wealth (especially for medium high income earners). From the dataset, it is not possible to disentangle the two possible reasons for this: richer people may be specifically targeted by civil servants for their higher potential to pay; or their contributive power allows them to pay bribes more often, without compromising their living standards. Location is a strong determinant of

experienced corruption. Hanoi is by far the most corrupt of the five cities, which probably explains why Hanoians are so pessimistic about the level and the perception of the corruption phenomenon. Unsurprisingly, the greater contact citizens have with public services, the more likely they are to face corruption.

Finally, factors associated with the declared willingness to engage in anti-corruption are the level of schooling and income. Poor and less educated people are more cautious, perhaps because they lack awareness or because they consider it too risky, as they lack knowledge and social connections to protect them. The same applies for females. In any case, education programs could play an instrumental role per se in supporting anti-corruption efforts. Youth are as keen to get involved as their older counterparts, which is good news in order to build anti-corruption coalitions. Christians and Buddhists seem to be more ready to get involved, as well citizens living in Da Nang. Interactions with public services have contradictory impacts on potential commitments to fight corruption. While service users clearly want to change the rules of the game, those who personally experienced corruption are significantly less willing to do so, suggesting that their own experience makes them more disillusioned about their own expected contribution to creating change.

To go even further in the analysis and overcome any shortcomings with these models (such as the “selection bias,” where people who purposely circumvent contact with specific services in order to avoid corruption, are not fully represented in the results), a “Heckman selection model” has been estimated to better identify which sectors are most affected by corruption (see Annex 1 for more details on the methodology).

The evidence from this model suggests various interesting results (see Table 5 in Annex 1). The frequency of contacts is concave with age: contacts first increase with age to a certain point, then decrease, which is compatible with the social lifecycle. This feature is confirmed by the fact that employed people are more often in contact with the range of public

sectors surveyed than non-working respondents. While gender does not have an influence on how likely respondents are to come into contact with the public sector, people with higher incomes and higher levels of education have a higher probability of, as are Christians and respondents from “other religions”. Citizens of all cities (except Can Tho) are also more likely to access public services than citizens in Hanoi. As expected, health, education systems and utilities are, *ceteris paribus*, the most frequented services. Conversely, tax administration, customs and the judiciary are less frequently accessed.

Once the frequency of contact is taken into account, incidences of corruption, with all things being equal, increases with income (and partially with education), for the reasons underlined previously. While the coefficient

for women was negative but not significant (see model 3 in Annex 1), it is highly significant here as women experience less corruption, which should be linked to lower tolerance to corruption. The analysis strongly confirms that Hanoi is the city where corruption is most frequently experienced. Ho Chi Minh City is the best performer out of the 5 cities surveyed. The 9 sectors can also be ranked by order of incidences of corruption. Taking into account the level of significance, they can be split in five groups, beginning from the most corrupt: police comes first (group 1), followed by education and customs (group 2). Group 3 includes land administration and health sector. Group 4 aggregates judiciary, general and tax administration, while utilities are by far the best performer (group 5). This ranking can provide useful information to prioritise anti-corruption actions, and design the best suited policies for different sectors.

CONCLUSION: ANTI-CORRUPTION AT A CROSSROADS?

The first message coming out of the Vietnam 2010 Barometer is that a clear majority of 62 per cent of urban Vietnamese perceive an increase of corruption over the past three years. Vietnam is one of the countries in the Asia region where the perception of the corruption situation has seriously deteriorated.

Despite this, urban Vietnamese also recognise, more so than their regional neighbours surveyed, that their Government has been making significant efforts to fight against corrupt practices, even if the perceived effectiveness of these efforts is quite balanced. The question now is how to make such efforts more effective.

With regards to the level of perceived corruption, urban Vietnamese have a very diverse assessment of the integrity of different sectors and institutions, with the police, education system and civil servants seen as the most affected by corruption. However, compared to neighbouring countries Vietnamese respondents perceive less sectoral corruption. In other words, they have a better image of the institutions surveyed, and as a result are likely to place trust in them. People consider the Government, and to a lesser extent the media, are the key actors to lead anti-corruption efforts. Trust in the traditional political institutions in regard to the anti-corruption fight remains relatively strong. Given the trust placed in them, these organisations should be more visible and active in anti-corruption efforts. However, strong trust is also placed in other organisations to contribute more efficiently to anti-corruption efforts, especially the media, and there is a clear readiness from urban Vietnamese society and citizens to get more involved and active in anti-corruption. Compared to its regional neighbours Vietnamese urban citizens are amongst the most ready to become engaged.

The paradox that arises is that despite such positive perceptions, urban Vietnamese people actually experience significant levels of corruption – more than their regional neighbours. Vietnamese respondents pay bribes more frequently, especially to the police, the education and health systems, customs, and land management entities.

However, the main reason for paying bribes in urban areas in Vietnam comes out very clear. Overwhelming the main reason given was to speed things up – whereas in other countries, the overall results are more balanced, with a greater proportion of respondents reporting that they had to pay bribes in order to receive a service they are entitled to or to avoid problems with the authorities. The socio-cultural impatience of urban Vietnamese may indirectly identify the main cause (and solution) for petty corruption in the country. At the same time, it is imperative that further analysis is undertaken to see what happens if bribes are not given and how often people avoid contacts with services delivery institutions in order to better understand other contributing factors which affect the payment of bribes.

There are also clear disparities between different categories and groups of the population. Perceptions and experiences of corruption are generally much worse in Hanoi and Hai Phong, leading to less trust in Government anti-corruption efforts. Overall women, educated respondents, and the retired are more critical. The age group which seems to suffer the most corruption are those between 30-40 years. At the same time, a minority of Vietnamese citizens who seem to have no real trust in any institution to fight corruption and have a very dark picture of the corruption situation in urban Vietnam.

From the findings of the Vietnam 2010 Barometer, anti-corruption efforts in Vietnam appear to be at a crossroads. Whilst perceptions of ongoing anti-corruption efforts and institutions are still relatively positive, actual experiences and the overall assessment of the evolution of corruption are deteriorating, illustrating that many strongly trusted public institutions could and should play a greater role in anti-corruption efforts. To ensure that effective change takes place efforts should target sectors which are perceived and/or are experienced to have higher rates of corruption, and to enable conditions for institutions outside of the Government and ordinary people to get more involved. This suggests there is an urgent need for measures such as improving legislation and the implementation of regulations related to access to information and the protection of whistleblowers.

ENDNOTES

1. This survey was supported by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and is now referred as the “Diagnostic Survey”. The main sectors prone to corruption identified were: land management, customs, traffic police, tax, construction and permit granting, etc.

2. Accessible at: http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/nis/nis_reports_by_country

3. Giang Dang, Nguyen Thi Kieu Vien, Nguyen Thuy Hang, Mireille Razafindrakoto, Francois Roubaud and Matthieu Salomon, *Youth Integrity in Vietnam* (Transparency International: Hanoi, 2011).

4. CECODES & Embassy of Finland, *Anti-Corruption in Vietnam: The Situation after Two years of Implementation of the Law* (Hanoi, November 2008); M. Gainsborough, Dang Ngoc Dinh and Tran Thanh Phuong, *Corruption, Public Administration Reform and Development: Challenges and Opportunities*, UNDP research paper (UNDP: Hanoi, 2009); World Bank, *Vietnam Development Report 2010: Modern Institutions* (World Bank, DANIDA and Sweden: Hanoi, 2010). This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. See also the website of the UNDP/CECODES/Vietnam Fatherland Front PAPI (Provincial Governance and Public Administration Performance Index): <http://www.papi.vn/node/93>.

5. This has been possible thanks to the financial support of the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Embassy of Finland in Hanoi, IrishAID and the Embassy of Sweden in Hanoi, through the TI Vietnam Programme. Vietnam was already partially included in two editions of the GCB, in 2004 and 2007. In 2004 only one question was asked to 300 interviewees living in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC); but this question related to what citizens perceived as biggest national societal issues (question 1) did not include explicit reference to “corruption”. In 2007, 600 people were surveyed in urban areas (Hanoi, HCMC, Da Nang and Can Tho). They were asked three out of the seven questions included in the questionnaire designed for the 2007 GCB (questions 5 to 7), including questions on perceptions and experiences of corruption by institutions,

sources of information and water services. The main reason for Vietnam to not have been included at all or not fully in the previous GCB editions has been the limited budget of TI for conducting this global survey: countries where TI movement has chapters and long presence being prioritised over other countries. The perceived sensitivity of the questions asked as well as the overall national environments related to corruption and anti-corruption issues are also a parameter influencing the possibility for countries and territories to be included in the survey.

6. The “balance of opinions” (BoO) is the difference between those who believe that corruption has decreased (“a lot” and “a little”) and those who believe that corruption has increased (“a lot” and “a little”). Calculating the balance of opinions allow for a synthetic measure of the overall findings as it gives a better balanced image of the (positive and negative) answers.

7. The analysis here, as in the rest of this report, does not pretend to be comprehensive. The most striking findings are pointed out, but presenting all the richness of the Barometer would require a much longer report.

8. This result is in line with the international literature in this respect, which systematically show that women are more corruption adverse than men. See for example, D. Dollar, R. Fisman, and R. Gatti, ‘Are women really the “fairer” sex? Corruption and women in government’, *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization* 46(4) (2011) p.423-429.

9. For example in the Viet Nam Provincial Governance and Public Performance Perception Index (PAPI) 2010, 12 out of the 15 best performing provinces when it comes to “control of corruption” (dimension 4) are from the South. In the Provincial Competitive index 2010, out of 63 provinces, Da Nang is ranked 1st, Can Tho 13rd, HCMC 23rd, Hanoi 43rd and Hai Phong 48th; the report is accessible at: <http://www.pcivietnam.org/>. See also: (CECODES, VFF & UNDP, *Viet Nam Provincial Governance and Public Performance Perception Index (PAPI). Measuring citizens’ experiences* (Hanoi, 2010); USAID/VNCCI, *The Vietnam Provincial Competitiveness Index 2010: Improving Economic Governance for Domestic and Foreign*

ANNEX 1: METHODOLOGY OF ECONOMETRIC MODELS USED

Investors, USAID/VNCI Policy Paper #15 (Hanoi, March 2011); J-P Cling, Nguyen Thi Thu Huyen, Nguyen Huu Chi, Phan, T. Ngoc Trâm, M. Razafindrakoto and F. Roubaud, *The Informal Sector in Vietnam: A focus on Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City*, The Gioi Edition (Hanoi, 2010); Giang et al. (2011)).

10. This seems to be confirmed by a study on informal payments in health services in Vietnam which found that informal payments were not generally perceived to exist in health services prior to 1986. The research suggests that informal payments become more common after Doi Moi in 1986 and increased significantly in the years following 2000. For more information see, Boston Univeristy, Research and Training Centre for Community Development, Towards Transparency and Transparency Internation *Towards a Transparency and Quality Healthcare System: A qualitative study on the causes, perceptions and impact of informal payments in health services in Vietnam* (2011), p. 20-22.

11. To allow for international comparisons, the list of sectors used for the Barometer is common for all the countries and does not seek to be exhaustive. For Vietnam, a number of key sectors such as land management, representing the first sector of citizens' complaints and denunciations, or the health sector which have been identified as being particularly prone to corruption are clearly missing. Other sectors supposedly prone to corruption could have also been included, like the tax system, the customs, etc.

12. These findings thus indicate that more in-depth analysis of the types and forms of corruption in the police and security force could be instigated.

13. This finding appears in line with the research presented in the framework of the 7th Anti-Corruption Dialogue (TI & TT, 2011).

14. Unfortunately public sectors (perhaps considered to be too sensitive at the time) were not included in the Vietnam 2007 Barometer so it is not possible to assess the perceived evolution of corruption in such sectors. It is expected that the next Barometer, to be conducted in 2012, will allow for the

first time to assess more systematically the evolution of the sectoral perceptions of corruption in Vietnam.

15. Razafindrakoto, M. & Roubaud, F. 'Are international databases on corruption reliable? A comparison of expert opinions surveys and household surveys in sub-saharan Africa', *World Development*, 38(8) (August 2010), p.1057-1069.

16. See question Q3 in Annex 1. From these questions two indicators of the incidence of corruption can be computed, with their own strong points and shortcomings: first, the percentage of people who paid bribes in the whole population; second, the ones who paid bribes amongst those who had contact with the quoted services (incidence of corruption among service users).

17. World Bank (2010).

18. It should be pointed out that these findings about corruption incidences should not be understood as overall assessments of the "quality" of these services: some sectors where corruption happen can at the same time offer quite good quality of service, etc.

19. Confirming: Dollar et al. (2001); Swammy et al., 2001; Gatti et al., 2003; Lavallée et al., (2010).

20. For details about the CPI methodology and reports, see: http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/in_detail#4

21. Dang Giang et al. (2011).

Four models are first estimated, corresponding to four different dimensions of the 2010 GCB:

- Perceptions of corruption (evolution over the last three year and level of perceived corruption today (model 1 and 2 respectively);
- Experience of corruption (model 3); and
- Keenness to engage in anti-corruption (model 4).

To keep all the information comprised in the questionnaire, scores have been computed for models 2, 3 and 4. The score for perceived corruption (model 2) is the sum of the marks given by the interviewees to each of the 11 sectors considered (question 2; see annex 2). By construction, the perceived corruption score can vary from 11 (no perceived corruption to 55 (extreme corruption in all sectors). The average score is 27.3, with a minimum at 11 and a maximum at 52. The score for experienced corruption (model 3) take the value 0 if the interviewee did not pay bribe in any of the 9 quoted sectors (question 3), and increments by 1 each time he/she has been confronted by corruption in one sector, up to 9 (at least one corrupt transaction in each sector). The average score is 0.8, with 0 and 9 values for the minimum and the maximum. A score of contact with services has been elaborated following the same procedure. Finally, the commitment to anti-corruption score is

the sum of the mark given to question 4, stressing the will to report corruptive acts and to engage in anti-corruption. In theory the score should take its lowest level of 4, if the interviewee disagree with the 4 statements, while its highest potential value is 16 (strongly agree with all statements). The average score is 12.0, taking the whole spectrum of potential values.

For the econometric methods, the most appropriate models were adopted while choosing simple specifications to be accessible to the largest audience. Obviously, these models can be refined in a further step. Given the nature of the dataset, an ordered logit (ologit) was estimated for model 1, and presents OLS estimates for models 2, 3 and 4. In all these case, ologit regressions were also ran to take into account the ordinal nature of our scores (not reported). The results are highly consistent with the OLS models. As explanatory factors (dependent variables), the socio-economic characteristics of the interviews captured in the questionnaire were considered. Additionally the inter-relations between different dimensions of corruption at stake were investigated(perception, experience and anti-corruption).

The results of these models are summarised in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Perception and experience of corruption and
commitment to anti-corruption models

Source: 2010 GCB, Transparency International; authors' calculations.
***: significant at 1 per cent; **: significant at 5 per cent; *: significant at 10 per cent.
The reference category (to be compared with) is: Low (income level), No or primary
(education level), At work (job status), No religion, Hanoi (city).

	Evolution of corruption over 2007-2010	Level of perceived corruption	Experience of corruption	Keenness to engage in anti-corruption
Women	0.049	-0.180	-0.114	-0.188
Age	-0.169*	-0.942**	-0.171***	0.098
Income level				
Medium low	0.004	0.164	0.157	0.661***
Medium	-0.102	-1.092	0.073	0.361*
Medium High	0.149	-0.266	0.337***	0.482**
High	0.578	-0.040	0.263	0.920**
Education level				
Secondary	-0.032	0.538	0.105	0.211
High level	0.043	0.425	-0.116	0.353*
Job status				
Unemployed	0.377*	2.935***	-0.119	-0.126
Not working	-0.018	-0.934	-0.024	0.197
Retired	0.048	0.621	-0.233*	0.143
Religion				
Buddhist	0.259*	-0.608	-0.043	0.349**
Christian	0.219	-1.176	-0.146	0.665***
Other	0.738**	0.335	0.326*	-0.338
City				
Hai Phong	-0.509**	0.153	-0.869***	-0.142
Ho Chi Minh	-0.745***	-1.502*	-1.059***	0.279
Da Nang	-1.529***	-1.425	-0.429***	1.575***
Can Tho	-0.639***	-3.800***	-0.247**	-0.131
Contact	0.066*	0.822**	0.272***	0.085**
Experience	0.094*	0.676***	-	-0.149**
Perception	-	-	-	-
Intercept	-	27.428	0.785***	10.748
Number of obs	976	718	1,000	1,000
Model	ologit	OLS	OLS	OLS
Adjusted R2	0.029	0.106	0.307	0,094
Average score	3.8	27.3	0.799	12.0

Table 4 of experienced corruption is not fully satisfactory. Clearly, to be subject to corruption people have to be in contact with the services, and given that some citizens do not access such services because they do not want to be confronted with corruption (eg. because they cannot afford to pay bribes). These non service users are not (auto) selected at random. This is a classic problem in econometrics called “selection bias” issue. Secondly, the average score is unhelpful in identifying the sectors most affected by corruption, a key piece of information required to design sound and targeted policies. To tackle these shortcomings and following Hunt and Lazlo (2005) on Peruvian data, and Lavallée et al. (2010) on African data, a “Heckman selection model” was followed, which, not to enter into technical details, is perfectly adapted to such purpose. The data have been pooled by sector (providing 9,000 observations individual*sector: 1,000 individuals for each sector) and the probability of having experienced corruption was estimated, taking fully into account the probability of being in contact with the sector. The coefficient obtained (and their significance) can be analysed as the “pure” effect of the explanatory variables, once purged for the differential access to services (see Figure 7 above). To proceed, it was necessary to find a variable which has an impact on the probability of contact and not on the probability of experiencing corruption, except through contact (the so called “identifying condition”). The age fits this requirement; while age (introduced in the equation with a quadratic

term) is significantly correlated with the incidence of contact, and with the incidence of corruption. But once contact is taken into account in the corruption equation, the impact of age is no more significant, meaning that the partial correlation between age and corruption is spurious, and transits only through access to services. The interpretation is straightforward: in other words while people during their “active” lifecycle are more susceptible to attend public services than younger (or older) ones, there is no specific reason why they should be more affected by corruption when they interact with civil servants. The dependent variables are the same as in the previous models, incremented by the sector, where contact and experience have occurred.

The results of this complementary econometric model are summarised in Table 5.

TABLE 5
Experience of corruption model with sample
selection

Source: 2010 GCB, Transparency International; authors' calculations.
***: significant at 1 per cent; **: significant at 5 per cent; *: significant at 10 per cent.
The reference category (to be compared with) is: Low (income level), No or primary
(education level), At work (job status), No religion, Hanoi (city). Services are compared to education.

	Experience of corruption	Contact with public services (selection equation)
Woman	-0.041***	0.040
Age	-	0.288***
Age2	-	-0.069***
Income level		
Medium low	0.048*	-0.020
Medium	0.040*	-0.014
Medium High	0.096***	0.160***
High	0.087**	0.299***

Education level		
Secondary	0.058*	0.174***
High level	-0.003	0.343***
Job status		
Unemployed	-0.034	-0.091*
Not working	-0.003	-0.067
Retired	-0.115***	-0.105*
Religion		
Buddhist	-0.017	-0.050
Christian	-0.022	0.133**
Other	0.140***	-0.302***
City		
Hai Phong	-0.261**	0.250***
Ho Chi Minh	-0.314***	0.286***
Da Nang	-0.099***	0.135**
Can Tho	-0.077***	-0.125**
Service		
Judiciary	-0.140***	-1.307***
Medical service	-0.063***	0.200***
Police	0.138***	-0.702***
General admin.	-0.134***	-0.881***
Utilities	-0.291***	0.009
Tax revenue	-0.123***	-10.098***
Land services	-0.034***	-1.533***
Customs	-0.050	-2.232***
Intercept	0.496***	-0.229*
Number of obs	9,000	9,000
Model	Heckman selection model (maximum likelihood)	
Wald test (independent equations)	897.83***	
Incidence of:	Corruption: 9.0 per cent	Contact: 35.2 per cent

ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR THE GCB AND EXTRAPOLATED DISTRIBUTION

Q1.

A. In the past 3 years, how has the level of corruption in this country changed:

1. Increased a lot	35.7 %
2. Increased a little	25.7 %
3. Stayed the same	18.4 %
4. Decreased a little	14.8 %
5. Decreased a lot	2.9 %
9. Don't know / no answer	2.5%

B. How would you assess your current government's actions in the fight against corruption?

1. The government is very effective in the fight against corruption	6.1 %
2. The government is somewhat effective in the fight against corruption	30.2 %
3. The government is neither effective nor ineffective in the fight against corruption	28.5 %
4. The government is somewhat ineffective in the fight against corruption	24.7 %
5. The government is very ineffective in the fight against corruption	8.4 %
9. Don't know / no answer	1.2 %

C. Whom do you trust the most to fight corruption in this country? (single answer)

1. Government leaders	46.0 %
2. Business /Private sector	3.3 %
3. NGOs-Non governmental Organisations	5.1 %
4. Media	26.1%
5. International organisations [eg UN World Bank, International Monetary Fund etc]	4.9 %
6. Nobody	12.3 %
9. Don't know / no answer	2.4 %

Q2. Question on Perceptions regarding corruption.

To what extent do you perceive the following categories in this country to be affected by corruption? Please answer on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 meaning not at all corrupt, 5 meaning extremely corrupt). Of course you can use in-between scores as well.

Col.	Sectors	Not at all corrupt				Extremely corrupt	DK/NA
16	a. Political parties*	38.8 %	25.7 %	15.3 %	5.7 %	5.4 %t	9.2 %
17	b. Parliament/Legislature	44.7 %	23.3 %	11.8 %	5.0 %	3.3 %	11.9 %
18	c. Police	4.0 %	12.2 %	20.2 %	24.8 %	37.5 %	1.4 %
19	d. Business/ private sector	25.4 %	20.6 %	20.9 %	18.1 %	9.7 %	5.2 %
20	e. Media	30.5 %	33.1 %	19.7 %	8.5 %	3.5 %	4.7 %
21	f. Public Officials/Civil Servants	9.7 %	26.8 %	26.3 %	21.8 %	13.3 %	2.1 %
22	g. Judiciary	18.9 %	22.1 %	24.7 %	15.9 %	11.6 %	6.8 %
23	h. NGOs (non governmental organisations)	45.8 %	21.5 %	11.4 %	4.0 %	1.2 %	16.1 %
24	i. Religious bodies	62.2 %	17.5 %	6.7 %	2.4 %	1.2 %	10.0 %
25	j. Military	30.6 %	28.9 %	18.6 %	11.1 %	5.9 %	5.1 %
26	k. Education system	9.7 %	21.7 %	22.6 %	22.5 %	22.1 %	1.5 %

*NB: The Vietnamese questionnaire used the term “Đảng” meaning the Vietnamese Communist Party.

Q3.

A. In the past 12 months, have you or anyone living in your household had a contact with the following institution/organisation?

B. In the past 12 months have you or anyone living in your household paid a bribe in any form to each of the following institutions/organisations?

Sectors	QA. HAD A CONTACT					QB. PAID A BRIBE				
	Col.	YES	NO	DK	NA	Col.	YES	NO	DK	NA
1. Education system	27	61.2 %	38.7 %	0.1 %	-	36	35.6 %	63.9 %	0.2 %	0.3 %
2. Judiciary	28	17.3 %	82.5 %	0.1 %	0.1 %	37	16.4 %	81.8 %	0.9 %	0.9 %
3. Medical services	29	69.0 %	31.0 %	-	-	38	29.2 %	69.9 %	0.3 %	0.6 %
4. Police	30	37.5 %	62.4 %	0.1 %	-	39	49.0 %	50.4 %	-	0.8 %
5. Registry and permit services (civil registry for birth, marriage, licenses, permits, land and property ownership and transfer of ownership)	31	29.6 %	70.4 %	-	-	40	22.7 %	77.3 %	-	-
6. Utilities (telephone, electricity, water, etc.)	32	63.7 %	36.2 %	0.1 %	-	41	4.2 %	95.4 %	0.4 %	-
7. Tax revenue	33	23.4 %	76.4 %	0.2 %	-	42	19.7 %	79.3 %	0.3 %	0.7 %
8. Land services (buying, selling, inheriting, renting)	34	12.0 %	87.9 %	0.1 %	-	43	24.8 %	73.3 %	1.3 %	0.6 %
9. Customs	35	2.9 %	96.9 %	0.2 %	-	44	29.1 %	65.5 %	5.5 %	-

Q4. If you paid a bribe in the past 12 months, which of the following applied to the LAST bribe paid:

1. The bribe was paid to speed things up	33.1 %
2. The bribe was paid to avoid a problem with the authorities	3.9 %
3. The bribe was paid to receive a service entitled to	2.6 %
4. Did not pay a bribe in the past 12 months	59.1 %
5. Cannot remember	0.5 %
9. DK/NA	0.8 %

Q5. I am going to read out some statements. For each one, can you tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?

Col.		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
46	a. Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption	6.1 %	27.0 %	46.5 %	20.3 %
47	b. I would support my colleague or friend, if they fought against corruption	0.5 %	4.9 %	57.3 %	37.4 %
48	c. I could imagine myself getting involved in fighting corruption	0.9 %	19.5 %	51.6 %	28.0 %
49	d. I would report an incident of corruption	2.3 %	32.1 %	45.5 %	20.1 %

ANNEX 3: KEY SURVEY INFORMATION FOR COUNTRIES IN ASIA PACIFIC

COUNTRY/ TERRITORY	FIRM	INTERVIEWS	METHODOLOGY	COVERAGE	POPULATION REPRESENTED BY THE SAMPLE	FIELD DATES (2010)
Afghanistan	BBSS	1160	Face to Face	National	12,100,682	August 4 - August 25
Australia	Colmar Brunton	1020	Online	National	17,020,122	June 28 - July 11
Bangladesh	Transparency International Bangladesh	1049	Face to Face	National	3,702,969	June 9 - July 20
Belarus	Romir Holding	1000	Face to Face	National	7,480,000	June 21 - July 7
Cambodia	Indochina Research	1002	Face to Face	Urban	8,237,200	July 21 - July 26
China	CRC	1000	Face to Face	Urban	18,451,100	June 9 - July 10
Fiji	Tebbutt Research	1002	CATI	National	523,624	June 21 - July 14
Hong Kong	CRC	1000	Online	National	7,018,637	June 9 - July 10
India	MaRS	1000	CATI	Urban	65,000,000	July 1 - July 6
Indonesia	CRC	1000	Online	National	237,512,355	June 9 - July 10
Japan	NRC	1200	Face to Face	National	103,363,009	June 30 - July 12
Korea (South)	Gallup Korea	1500	Face to Face	National	40,853,273	June 11 - June 28
Malaysia	TNS Malaysia	1008	Face to Face	National	18,031,020	June 28 - July 26
New Zealand	Colmar Brunton	1291	Online	National	3,381,302	June 3- July 11
Pakistan	Pakistan Gallup	2739	Face to Face	National	81,000,000	June 20 - July 10
Papua New Guinea	Tebbutt Research	996	CATI	National	3,741,391	June 21 - July 14
Philippines	M&S PHILIPPINES	1000	Face to Face	National	65,371,502	June 21 - July 7
Singapore	CRC	1000	Online	National	4,608,168	June 9 - July 10
Solomon Islands	Tebbutt Research	500	CATI	National	372,908	June 28 - July 14
Taiwan	CRC	1000	Online	National	22,920,947	June 9 - July 10
Thailand	CRC	1000	Online	National	66,187,267	June 14 - July 14
Vanuatu	Tebbutt Research	495	CATI	National	136,368	June 21 - July 14
Vietnam	Indichina Research	1000	Face to Face	Urban	59,023,831	July 21 - July 26

*For the key survey information of all countries included in the 2010 Global Corruption Barometer, please see Annex A of Transparency International, Global Corruption Barometer 2010.

ANNEX 4: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

D2. GENDER:	
Male	48.3 per cent
Female	51.7 per cent
D3. AGE GROUP:	
Under 30	26.3 per cent
30 - 50	51.5 per cent
51 - 65	19.4 per cent
66 & +	2.8 per cent
D4. ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (ALL SOURCES, BEFORE TAXES):	
Low	10.7 per cent
Medium low	15.7 per cent
Medium	50.5 per cent
Medium high	18.8 per cent
High	3.5 per cent
Prefer not answering	0.8 per cent
D5. EDUCATION:	
No education/only basic education	27.8 per cent
Secondary school (e.g. high school)	44.9 per cent
Higher education (e.g. university)	26.7 per cent
Prefer not answering	0.6 per cent
D6. EMPLOYMENT STATUS:	
Working full or part time (include self-employed)	61.8 per cent
Unemployed	10.1 per cent
Not working (student, housewife)	14.3 per cent
Retired	13.6 per cent
Prefer not answering	0.2 per cent
D7. RELIGION:	
Roman Catholic	8.6 per cent
Protestant	0.6 per cent
Other Christian	0.2 per cent
Hindu	0.1 per cent
Muslim	0.1 per cent
Buddhist	29.3 per cent
Other	2.8 per cent
Nothing	57.8 per cent
Prefer not answering	0.5 per cent

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